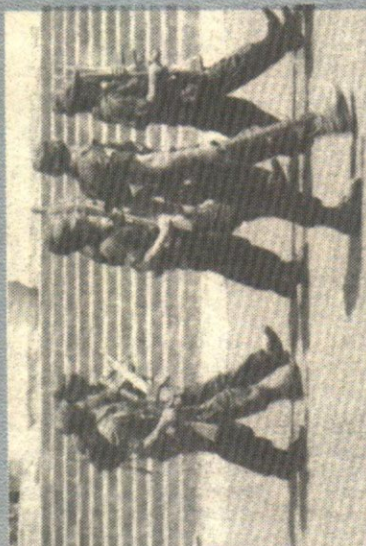


Why El Salvador's Army Can't Win

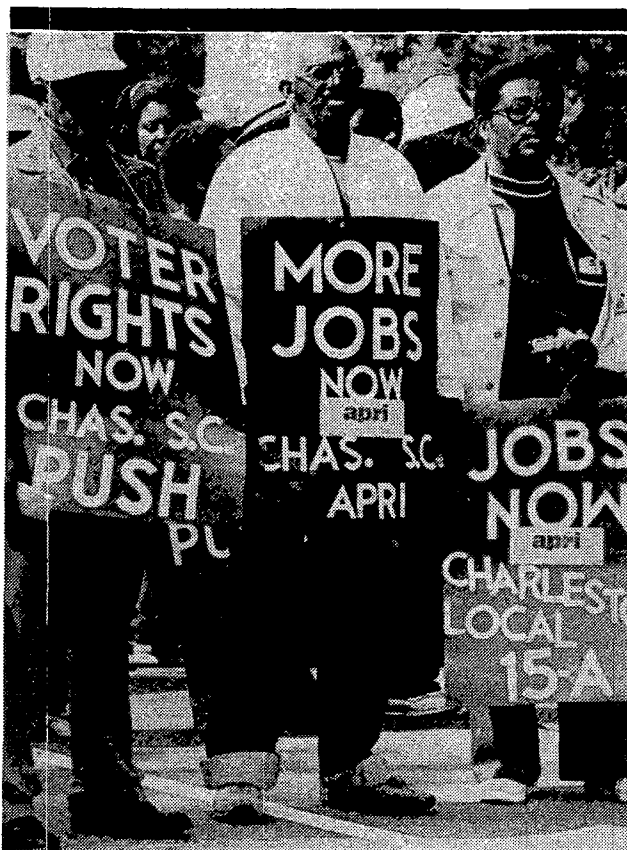


A firsthand report



**Whose Union Is It
Anyway?**
Asner, Heston and a cast of thousands

THE INSIDE STORY



Labor officials want the Democrats to present an alternative to Reaganomics.

Labor ponders what is to be done

By David Moberg

Bludgeoned in the face by recession at the bargaining table and whacked on the backside by the Reaganite rule in Washington, the labor movement quite predictably, albeit slowly, is trying to strengthen its political muscle. From the top it is bolstering and adding sophistication to its centralized operations. From the bottom, there are vigorous new strategies for broad coalitions and greater local labor political power. Although not inherently at odds, the strategies at times diverge and even conflict.

The new director of the political arm of the AFL-CIO, The Committee on Political Education (COPE), is John Perkins, who is described by nearly everyone as a good technician and a loyal staff man who has made few enemies and has no ideological ax to grind. With \$3.5 million at his disposal, in addition to contributions to candidates channeled through COPE, he wants to conduct more extensive polling of union members, analyze district political trends more carefully, churn out personalized mailings that hit special "parochial concerns" of members rather than relying on broad-brush appeals and take advantage of drivers license lists to locate additional members of union households for mailings.

But beyond such technical improvements, there are signs that the labor movement will try to make its influence felt more forcefully within the Democratic Party, even though it will hold back from the kind of intimate connection that British unions have with the Labour Party.

COPE, for example, may work with state federations to recruit candidates and to give new contenders limited training before it pulls back from any day-to-day involvement in the campaign. At the national party level, where 34 AFL-CIO members make up nearly 10 percent of the Democratic National Committee, labor hopes to exert more influence not only through numbers and money but also by changing the party convention rules along the lines recommended by the Hunt Commission. Generally those changes lessen the role of activists and pressure groups and strengthen the hand of elected officials and party functionaries. Many labor leaders think that with this arrangement they can exercise greater discipline over officials and thus over the nominating process by the power of their purse strings.

This issue (Vol. 6, No. 15) published March 10, 1982, for newsstand sales March 10-16, 1982.

Most labor leaders want more Democratic Party discipline, so that even when out of power the party could act as a "shadow government," in the words of Communications Worker president Glenn Watts, rather than a squabbling and confused chorus. But "we're not looking to own the party," Clothing and Textile Workers president Murray Finley says. "I doubt if we'd do best to take it over. If I look around the world, I'm not sure [a labor party] is good or bad. We've made a lot of progress [with the existing party arrangement]. Let's go back to what's been working."

Besides discipline, most labor officials want the Democrats to present an alternative to Reaganomics, such as those offered by the AFL-CIO, the Machinists or the public workers (AFSCME). "I would hope for the party to go to the left," Finley says, pausing for a moment over his choice of words, "yeah, to the left."

But when labor gets down to the nitty-gritty details of endorsement, the broader political strategy fades in favor of pragmatism. Bill Holayter, political director of the Machinists, notes that in the final balloting "an alternative is not going to be as important as how many people are laid off, are interest rates still up there, are businesses going bankrupt. Races are run by individuals, who can be helped by issues and positions, but it comes down to individuals."

And when it comes down to individuals, labor has a traditional policy of sticking by "friends" more than seeking out the best—described by one building trades president as "dancing with the gal you brung to the party." That shows up in Connecticut, where many unions, including some liberal ones, are supporting Sen. Lowell Weicker, a moderate and an important swing vote in the Senate Labor Committee, over either his conservative Republican opponent, Prescott Bush, or the aggressive, liberal Rep. Toby Moffett, the likely Democratic candidate. Some unions, like the Machinists, have opted for a strong "advocate" in Moffett over a sometimes friend in Weicker. Despite such splits, the labor movement is moving tentatively toward greater ideological coherence in its endorsements, for example, offering "limited endorsement" in contests where one candidate is only a weak "lesser evil."

Mobilizing the members.

But despite labor's moves toward greater influence, discipline and political consistency, many union political activists on the left fault the AFL-CIO and many member unions for doing too little to involve and mobilize the members. Some officials are also retreating from labor's recent commitment to work in diverse coalitions. They apparently fear the influence of such coalition partners on labor and possible identification of unions with positions on defense, foreign policy and other issues to the left of official labor policy.

The Democratic Party rule changes reveal some of the differing views on rank-and-file activity. Holayter of the Machinists says, "I always thought the rules were okay as they were, except for the delegate loyalty rule. And if we did our job right, I thought we could take more delegates than any other element in the party." Many other unions were not willing to gamble on winning power in the party by this route.

But ultimately even those who favored the rank-and-file approach more than the new centralizing tendencies opted for labor unity rather than fractious infighting. "Ronald Reagan's wreckage is far more important than anything in terms of who gets to go to the Democratic convention," Machinist president William Winpisinger says. For their part, the Machinists have instituted an on-the-job canvass of the members of their union by stewards who solicit opinions and present issues as a way

of getting more members involved in politics.

Although the AFL-CIO pronounced election day 1982 as Solidarity Day II, it is pulling back in some ways from the broad-based mobilization that brought nearly 400,000 people to Washington last year. "There are people who you bring with you into the streets who you wouldn't want to have in an electoral coalition," one building trades political director says.

For many years there has been a strong line of resistance in the AFL-CIO, most prominently associated with departed COPE director Al Barkan, to labor linking itself with other groups as allies. Some go-it-alone proponents fear that labor might become identified with criticisms of the military, opposition to U.S. policies in El Salvador and other policies on such issues as civil rights, women's rights or environmental protection that are common among labor allies but anathema to conservatives within the labor movement.

One indication of this concern was the decision at the February executive council meeting to keep labor endorsements clearly separate from the endorsements made by other coalition members, more of whom are now entering electoral politics. "We don't want anybody confused that if ABC group makes an endorsement and works with labor that necessarily means a labor endorsement," AFL-CIO information director Murray Seeger says.

Yet labor involvement with coalitions is, in the eyes of many local-level activists, the most effective way of gaining strength and encouraging involvement. But the conservatives in labor have reason to worry: such coalition work may challenge some cherished labor positions.

For example, the state AFL-CIO in Iowa took the lead last year in organizing the Iowa Progressive Coalition of 35 labor, community, church and farm groups. "We could no longer only lobby, manipulate and finagle things from the top," federation newspaper editor Mark Belkin said. "We had to reach people out in the field. If we didn't, right-wing and corporate America would turn them against their organizations."

Organized around an economic bill of rights and the theme of "Jobs, Peace, Justice," the Coalition recently mobilized 3,000 people in sub-zero weather to protest at a Reagan visit to Des Moines. Partly as a result of church and peace group influence, the Coalition has argued that "peace is a bread-and-butter issue," Belkin says. "It affects the paycheck and pocketbook of workers just like recession, inflation or taxes." Although the Coalition has taken no position on El Salvador," Belkin says that there is a generally critical view of U.S. policy among members.

The Coalition does not endorse candidates, but state federation president James Wengert this year organized the first pre-primary endorsement meeting for Iowa COPE members. "We felt after the primaries our choices are between Democrats and Republicans," he said. "By starting this, if we support Democrats and they start weakening on the platform, then we will be able to take them on in the primary."

Such tough-minded grass-roots activism combined with broad coalition work is sprouting up all over the country—for example, in Connecticut's Legislative and Electoral Action Project, in an effort by Steelworkers in Gary, Ind., to form a labor caucus in the county Democratic committee, in a political education and action program among federal workers organized by AFGE (American Federation of Government Employees) to link their jobs and clients' needs in fights against budget cuts. The changes at the top in labor's political machinery could encourage this strength if conservative fears do not prevail and bring national COPE into conflict with the emerging local-level political activism. ■

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

Published 42 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June, July and August by The Institute for Policy Studies, Inc., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622, (312) 489-4444. Institute for Policy Studies National Offices, 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

(ISSN 0160-5992)



PUBLISHERS

William Sennett

James Weinstein

EDITORIAL

Editor

James Weinstein

Associate Editors

John Judis,
David Moberg

Managing Editor

Sheryl Larson

Culture Editor

Pat Aufderheide

European Editor

Diana Johnstone

Assistant Managing Editor

Josh Kornbluth

Staff: John Echeverri-Gent, Jim Steiker,
Editorial Assistants; Emily Young,
Intern.

Sponsors: Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jesse Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *In These Times* is copyright ©1981 by Institute for Policy Studies Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* or single-article reprints are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Subscriptions are \$23.50 a year (\$35.00 for institutions; \$35.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by *In These Times* become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Ill.

Correspondents: Kate Ellis (New York), David Fleishman (Tokyo), Robert Howard (Boston), Timothy Lange (Denver), David Mandel (Jerusalem), James North (Southern Africa).

West Coast Bureau: Thomas Brom, 1419 Broadway #702, Oakland, CA 94612, (415) 834-3015 or 531-5573.

ART

Co-Directors

Ann Tyler, Dolores Wilber

Assistant Art Directors

Paul Comstock, Nicole Ferentz

Composition

Jim Rinnert, Diane Scott

BUSINESS

Associate Publisher

Bob Nicklas

Business Manager

Elizabeth Goldstein

Circulation Director

Pat VanderMeer

Advertising Director

Bill Rehm

Outreach Coordinator

Angie Fa

Staff: Arlene Folsom, Anne Flanagan, Assistant Circulation Directors; Beth Maschinot, Circulation Assistant; Anne Ireland, Bookkeeper; Debbie Zucker, Office Manager; Grace Faustino, Caging Manager; Paul Ginger, Classified Advertising.

Will real conservatives step forward?

By John Judis

WASHINGTON

IN THE PAST, THE ANNUAL CONSERVATIVE Political Action Conference (CPAC), sponsored by the American Conservative Union (ACU) and the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), has provided a forum for the right to debate its assault on the citadels of power. But having won power, the conservatives must now decide how to use it and consolidate it. That was the subject of this year's conference, held Feb. 25-28 at Washington's Mayflower Hotel.

The conference was attended by 350 conservative leaders from around the country—current and aspiring public officials, lawyers active in the "Sagebrush Rebellion," political consultants and various single issue crusaders—and was addressed by most major administration officials, including the president.

Reflecting the "old right" orientation of the ACU and YAF, which were organized in the early '60s to combat communism and the welfare state, social issues were given short shrift. An opening session on Thursday afternoon allowed Jill Gerstenfield of the National Federation of Parents to display her collection of drug paraphernalia, and a closing, sparsely attended Sunday morning workshop was devoted to right-to-life politics. But the political questions about the role of social issues in building a conservative majority obtruded continually during the conference and revealed serious strategic differences among conservatives as they go into the 1982 and 1984 elections.

While all the participants expressed their love and admiration for Ronald Reagan, there was also considerable grumbling and debate about the administration's foreign and economic policy, which was centered on its soaring budget deficits and its policies toward Western Europe and the Soviet Union.

Toward 1982.

In the wake of the 1980 Reagan landslide, many conservatives had visions of a new Republican majority on the order of the Democratic majority Franklin Roosevelt helped create during the '30s. After his 1932 victory, Roosevelt's party increased its congressional majority during the 1934 elections—the last time a party in power has done so in midterm elections. With 435 House seats, 33 Senate seats and 36 governorships up in this year's elections, Reagan administration officials were hoping to win the House and increase the Republican margin elsewhere. Such a victory would demonstrate that a Republican realignment had indeed taken place.

But some Republican strategists have now scaled back their predictions of victory and of realignment. The prospect of the recession lasting through this fall has dimmed their hopes. The swing toward Republican identification among voters, which climaxed during the November 1980 election, has abated significantly. And in Iowa, Minnesota and Michigan, previously popular Republican governors have opted for retirement rather than face voters during the Reagan recession.

At the CPAC conference, several prominent conservative strategists were pessimistic about 1982. Charles Black, a consultant who worked in the Reagan campaign and is now running Robert Dornan's Senate bid in California and Prescott Bush's campaign for Senate in Connecticut, cautioned conservatives not to hold the Reagan administration to the 1934 standard of achievement. "The standard Republicans should keep is not whether they win control of the House but whether they can match the average loss of 15 seats that a party in power suffers or beat it," Black said. Black added that in the Senate, where 21 of 33 contested seats are invitingly held by Demo-

crats, "The real challenge in 1982 is can we make some modest gains—two, three, four, or five seats."

But Black's pessimism was not shared by John "Terry" Dolan, the head of the National Conservative Political Action Conference (NCPAC), which helped defeat George McGovern and other Senate Democrats in 1980, and new right pollster Arthur Finkelstein. Dolan predicted a House takeover and six Senate seats, including that of West Virginia's Robert Byrd, the Democratic Minority Leader.

Finkelstein thought that the 1980 election had climaxed a two-decade trend toward a Republican majority. "Conservatives, who are in an overwhelming majority, are now residing in one party," Finkelstein said. "Now people who call themselves conservatives no longer call themselves Democrats but Republicans." If the GOP could retain its conservative image, Finkelstein guaranteed it a long-term three-to-two edge nationally.

But there was an important "if" in both Dolan's and Finkelstein's predictions: The party and administration will win only if they take a conservative direction. "If the Republican party fails to build a majority in 1982, it will be because the Reagan administration is not conservative enough," Dolan said.

Social issues.

There are important strategic differences between new right leaders like Dolan, Howard Phillips and Paul Weyrich, and Reagan political consultants like Richard Wirthlin and Roger Stone. They all agree that to preserve the Reagan majority, the Republicans will have to retain a coal-

Most of the delegates at the conference gave Haig and Reagan low grades for foreign policy...

ial issues are critical. "The social issues allow us to unite the hard-working blue-collar workers with Republicans. They bring you the extra 6 or 7 percent it takes to win," Weyrich said. Weyrich, who made much of his blue-collar boyhood in Racine, Wisc., derided the Reagan administration's inability to appreciate this. "The social issues aren't big in the country clubs. People sailing down the Potomac sipping champagne don't worry about them," he said.

Weyrich blamed moderate Republican Mary Estil Buchanan's 1980 loss to Colorado Sen. Gary Hart on her support for the ERA and abortion rights, and warned that if Republican candidates steer away from conservative social issues, they will be defeated in 1982. "The rural people in West Virginia don't understand Reaganomics. And frankly if they did, they wouldn't like it," Weyrich said. "If they aren't being told about prayer in the schools, Bobby Byrd is going to be back in the Senate."

But new right leaders, as well as more traditional conservatives, are skeptical about supply-side economics, as evidenced by Weyrich's quip that if the rural poor of West Virginia understood Reaganomics, they would not like it. Weyrich, Phillips and representatives of the Heritage Foundation called for achieving a balanced budget through more cuts in social spending—including social security, Medicare and Medicaid. While Kemp and Stone believe the majority coalition can be preserved through Reaganomics, the new right leaders believe it can be preserved in spite of Reaganomics.

Administration barely passes.

During the conference, *Conservative Digest*, which is published by new right leader Richard Viguerie, polled the delegates about their evaluation of the administration. The administration received a "C—" for its abandonment of the goal of a balanced budget and a "C" for its unwillingness to take a strong stand on "social issues." It received its lowest marks for foreign policy. It was awarded a "D—" for its refusal to declare Poland in default on its loans. Haig was rated the worst cabinet member, and a slim majority favored his being fired. (Defense consultant Seymour Weiss and U.N. Representative Jeane Kirkpatrick were mentioned in conversation as suitable replacements.)

Rep. Phil Crane (R-Ill.) summed up the feelings of most conference participants when he declared that Caspar Weinberger's Defense Department was the administration's "only major success" in foreign policy. "In other areas, the voices in the choir are not singing on



U.S. FOREIGN POLICY—1982

...and reserved their praise for Caspar Weinberger's Defense Dept.

tion that includes previously Democratic Catholics, blue-collar workers, Southern whites and Jews. Wirthlin, Reagan's pollster, and Stone, who ran the Northeast for Reagan in 1980, argue that the administration's close identification with social issues like abortion and with the Moral Majority's Evangelical Protestantism will hurt it among these constituencies. "It wasn't the evangelical Christian vote that made the difference for Reagan in New York or New Jersey," Stone said in a recent interview.

But the new right leaders think the soc-

The new right leaders acknowledge that the coalition between social and economic conservatives is potentially unstable, but compare it to the Democratic coalition that dominated the South from 1932 to the present. "You had bigots and blacks in the same party," Finkelstein told *In These Times*. "It wasn't comfortable, but they stayed in the same party."

What underlies this difference between new right leaders and other GOP strategists is a difference about policy as well as politics. Stone, for instance, thinks that Buffalo Rep. Jack Kemp's supply-side populism is the key to uniting country club Republicans with blue-collar workers. At the conference, Kemp repeated his faith in the ability of the Reagan tax cuts to achieve prosperity and cautioned conference participants not to become "mesmerized" by budget deficits. "People want to work in this country, and it is up to us to find answers," Kemp said. "I am not in favor of deficits, but I don't worship at the shrine of balanced budgets. The shrine I worship at is full employment."

key," he said.

Crane attacked American compliance with SALT I and II, and American participation in the ongoing Geneva and Madrid talks with the Soviet Union. "These international criminals should be quarantined by the West. You can't negotiate with them," he said. Crane also thought that the U.S. should compromise less with its Western allies. "Consensus is worse than useless if it doesn't meet our interests. If we ruffle a few feathers, then so be it."

Crane attacked the administration's refusal to sell advanced fighters to Taiwan and to support actively Jonas Savimbi's rebel troops in Angola. "Either communism is a threat or it isn't," Crane said. "We can't confuse our allies by making distinctions between good and bad communists."

Many conference participants found even Haig's hardline stance on El Salvador insufficient. There was much talk of a need for blockade of Cuba to stop arms shipments to the rebels. North Carolina

Continued on page 8.

IN SHORT

As Burlington goes...?

The March 2 elections in Burlington, Vt., ushered in the biggest victories to date for the Citizens Party and other supporters of Bernard Sanders, the city's socialist mayor. At the same time, Burlington's conservative Democrats saw their power erode considerably, after decades of domination. Here's what happened: Seven out of 13 seats on the influential Board of Aldermen were up for grabs. By winning half of the six aldermanic races they entered, Citizens Party candidates and independents lifted their total number of seats on the board from two to five. If left candidates capture two additional seats in runoffs later this month, Sanders backers will hold an absolute majority on the board. In any case, the situation is vexing to the Democrats: Before the election, they held eight seats; now they have two. Republicans lifted their total from three seats to five, at the expense of two Democrats.

"We beat the traditional parties at their own game, with an incredible amount of door-to-door canvassing," said Greg Guma, vice-chairman of the Citizens Party's Burlington commission (and news editor of the *Vermont Vanguard Press*). Guma noted that Citizens Party candidates ran strongly for minor posts across the city, winning two races—both for "inspector of elections"—and coming close in several others. (The Citizens Party had candidates entered in 26 contests, including the aldermanic races.) Citywide voting was exceptionally heavy, with the pro-Sanders forces doing best in the inner-city—especially among students and the elderly.

Same measure, next year

More March 2 doings in Vermont: At 156 town meetings across the state, residents passed a measure calling for a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze on the part of the U.S. and the USSR. Alan Abbey, a reporter for the *Burlington Free Press*, told "In Short" that the antinuclear vote was the culmination of a two-year grassroots effort by a statewide coalition of peace groups.

The ballot question was first proposed in 1980 by the Vermont chapter of the American Friends Service Committee. By March 1981 a dozen towns had it on their town-meeting ballot, despite scattered objections that the arms race was not a matter of local concern. (Vermonters usually spend their town meetings voting on such issues as school and road maintenance budgets, and whether to buy that new snowplow.) Through petitions signed by 5 percent of the voters in each of 161 towns this year (there are 245 towns in Vermont), the antinuclear question took on statewide significance. On Town Meeting Day—after another 14 towns slipped in under the wire—thousands voted on the measure. Bombs lost.

Vermont's Republican governor, Richard Snelling, responded by saying he was wary of the issue, while Lt. Gov. Madeleine Kunin, a Democrat, was happy about the vote. The state's Democratic senator, Patrick Leahy, vowed on the Senate floor to bring the vote to the attention of the White House and Secretary of State Alexander Haig. The Vermont peace groups, for their part, vowed to get the measure on all the remaining town ballots by next year.

A clause to celebrate

On Feb. 25, reports Brooks Egerton, Wisconsin governor Lee Dreyfus signed a gay civil rights bill into law—a first in U.S. history. The measure simply adds the clause "sexual orientation" to the state's existing list of discrimination prohibitions. Its coverage is broad, encompassing both public and private employment, housing and public accommodations.

The bill eked through the Wisconsin Assembly last fall ("In Short," Dec. 16) and cleared the state Senate in mid-February. Its author, State Rep. David Clarenbach, worked for more than two years to rally support for the legislation. In a press release, he gave special credit to "the mainstream religious community, who courageously spoke up for the rights of all people." Clarenbach also warned the new right that civil rights initiatives are "back on the offensive."

Cutbacks may strike back

The Reagan administration's proposed cuts in student financial aid, reports PNS Radio, could end up costing the government hundreds of billions of dollars in lost tax revenue. The College Press Service (CPS) estimates that this year alone, the cuts will force 67,000 high school seniors to drop plans for college and reduce their "earning power" by 30 percent, compared with what they'd make if they received college degrees. Over a lifetime, says the CPS, those reduced salaries will mean billions of bucks in lost taxes—about \$4,300 in reduced revenue for every dollar that is cut from student aid.

Barry White, the Reagan official who oversees student aid programs, admits that administration budget-axers didn't consider the long-term cost of the cuts. But White says that even if the calculations about lost tax revenue are correct, he's "not sure that's a good reason" to restore student aid money.

—Josh Korbush



Barefoot and apparently pregnant, members of Ladies Against Women listen intently to Phyllis Schlafly's speech at Cleveland's exclusive City Club.

Protesting is swell, but they'd rather be ironing

CLEVELAND—When Phyllis Schlafly arrived here Feb. 12, local feminists were ready with an action designed to upstage her and dispel the three-states-and-four-months-to-go-for-the-ERA blues. To challenge Schlafly's characterization of her opponents as bitter, disillusioned career women, the Pro-Choice Action Committee (PCAC), a member of the Reproductive Rights National Network, transformed itself into "Ladies Against Women" (LAW) and organized a rally in her honor. (LAW's motto: "I'd rather be ironing.")

Sporting pillbox hats and white gloves, about 75 "ladies" gathered in front of the City Club, a private luncheon enclave and self-proclaimed "citadel of free speech," where Schlafly was to speak. (Women have only been allowed to address this select forum since 1964.) Members of LAW and CHICKS (Coalition for Harboring Indefinite

Chastity and Kaffee-klatsch Sentimentality, a.k.a. the Akron National Organization for Women) waved signs that read "Suffering Not Suffrage," "Sperm Are People Too" and "You're Nobody Till You're Mrs. Somebody." They chanted "Hit us again! Hit us again! Harder! Harder!" and "Fifty-nine cents is to-o-o much!" According to PCAC/LAW member Barbara Winslow, their antics were inspired by the guerrilla theater of the Plutonium Players of San Francisco.

In advance publicity, LAW claimed the rally was co-sponsored by such groups as Another Mother for World Domination, The Vulture Forum, League to Protect Separate Bathrooms, Bedtime for Bonzo Anti-Evolution League, Voice of the Unconceived, Future Fetuses of America and the National Association for the Advancement of Rich White Straight Men. A tongue-in-cheek state-

ment released the day of the event was, however, signed by chapters of the National Organization for Women, the National Abortion Rights Action League, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Coalition of Labor Union Women, and Hard Hatted Women, as well as by Cleveland's women's center and rape crisis center, and one battered women's shelter.

No LAW members belong to the City Club, but about a dozen attended Schlafly's speech as guests. So the business-suited crowd was dotted with beaded and feathered hats, lacy handkerchiefs, ropes of pearls and the ubiquitous white gloves. Photographers flocked around two women who appeared barefoot and pregnant.

Schlafly's speech, entitled "Do We Want a Gender-free Society?," evoked images of women forced into military combat and children deprived of "round-the-clock, self-sacrificing, loving care." Most LAW



members maintained their ladylike poses, punctuating her crisp rhetoric with gasps of horror. (LAW, of course, opposes a gender-free society. "We can't just hand out genders free to anyone who wants them," argues Barbara Winslow. "The only thing that should be free in America is the market.")

What next? Will the ladies hang up their hats and fold their gloves and retire from public life? Well, it seems that in March the City Club will host Jerry Falwell. LAW has announced plans to join the Reagan for Shah Committee and the Clinton



Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. Please include your address and phone number.

Avenue Mad Dogs Bicycle Club (an obscure local group, somehow connected to the Workers Revenge Party) in a coalition called the Moral Monopoly. In the words of their leader, Rev. Perry Allswell, "America is only big enough for one opinion."

—Deborah Van Kleef

Farmers seek grain of parity

ST. PAUL—Her voice resounding through the rotunda of the Minnesota state capitol, Anne Kanten, a farmer from central Minnesota, raised a sheaf of wheat aloft in her left hand. Her right hand sliced toward the crowd of 800. "Farmers in this state produced \$6 billion of wealth last year, but it cost us \$7 billion to do it—we lost over a billion dollars. If farmers got good prices, there would be no financial crisis in state government."

For the crowd of farmers, loggers and rural Minnesotans who gathered for Minnesota Solidarity Day on Feb. 16, Anne Kanten's words were something to rally behind. Accustomed to being called "third class citizens," as one rallier put it, these rural voices were rediscovering their importance to the Midwest economy.

Forty percent of the state's economy and one third of the state's jobs are based in agriculture. With northern iron mines closing, farmers generate most of the state's new wealth needed to finance the industrial and service sector. Yet farmers are facing dramatic deficits after a bumper crop in 1981. Nineteen percent of the operating loans carried by the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) are now delinquent.

The FmHA, itself facing severe budget cutbacks by the Reagan administration, has started weeding out delinquent accounts by forcing farmers to sell stock or equipment. But these forced sales are not being termed "foreclosures" by the FmHA, since farmers bristle with memories of the '30s when they hear the word. Instead, agency softspeak has emerged with a new term: "orderly liquidation." According to Chuck Kanten, who farms with Anne, 250 such liquidations are in process across the state right now.

One group of Chippewa County farmers, who drove 150 miles to the rally, counted 98 auctions coming up in their county—in 60 of these, the farmer would be forced to liquidate all farm machinery. "A man sells his machinery, and I don't care how the FmHA or anyone else counts it, you know that man has gone belly up," said one member of the group. "Whenever a farmer has been forced to sell out, he's been foreclosed—that's all there is to it."

The sources of these financial woes are clear: bad prices and high interest. Corn is now selling at about 60 percent of what it cost the farmer to grow it—a point that was driven home by Jim Christianson, an implement dealer from Kerkhoven. He brought two identical tractors, 120 miles on a flatbed trailer and parked them in front of the Capitol. One he marked "1973" the other, "1982." When new,

the tractor cost \$13,000. Now the price is \$53,000. In the same span of time, the price of corn has dropped from \$2.34 to \$2.25 a bushel.

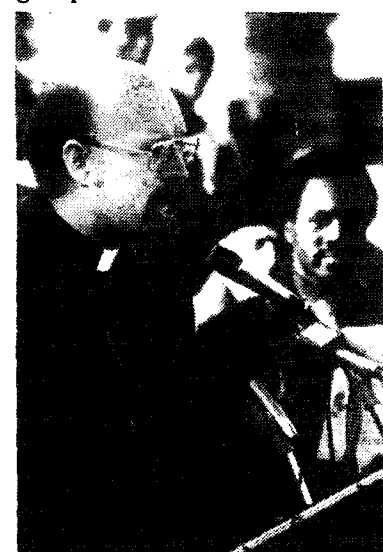
After the demonstration, 240 of the ralliers moved right over to a legislative hearing room to push for a measure that would prohibit the sale of grains at less than 80 percent of parity. A similar measure has already passed in Kansas. By Feb. 19, the bill had moved through a House committee. The State Senate also agreed to study a two-year moratorium on foreclosures. Largely a symbolic action aimed at federal policy, the measure still drew a surprising amount of support from state Republicans.

—Ken Meter and Rob Stultz

Ft. Bragg gets cold shoulder

FAYETTEVILLE, NC—More than 600 demonstrators braved snow, icy roads and freezing rain to gather here on Feb. 27 and oppose the training of Salvadoran troops in North Carolina. It was the latest and largest in a series of home-grown, grassroots protest.

The Rev. W.W. Finlator, pastor of Pullen Memorial Baptist Church in Raleigh, told the group huddled under umbrellas



Rev. Henry L. Atkins, one of the protesters at Ft. Bragg

in Pope Park: "I protest the use of North Carolina soil as the proving grounds for oppression and as an arsenal for despotism."

At an earlier action on Jan. 11, 200 demonstrators had met here to protest the arrival of an advance party of Salvadoran soldiers at Ft. Bragg (adjacent to Fayetteville) and Ft. Benning, Ga. At both demonstrations, Rev. Henry L. Atkins, an Episcopal minister from Greensboro, delivered a letter of protest to Ft. Bragg's deputy commander, Lt. Col. Eric Erickson.

Last month a Pentagon official indicated that the 1,600 Salvadorans now training at bases in the U.S. will be followed by "at least four or five more battalions over the course of the next year." Questions have been raised as to the exact nature of the training they will receive.

Even before the first group of Salvadoran soldiers arrived in North Carolina, Pentagon and Army officials had issued a series of contradictory statements about the still-unauthorized \$18 million training program. "These troops will receive the same advanced infantry tactics training a U.S. soldier would receive in basic training," Col. Edward T. Richards, commander of Ft. Bragg's 7th

Special Forces unit, said at one point. "We will not give them Special Forces training."

But Lt. Col. Harold Issacson, also stationed at Ft. Bragg, had a slightly different understanding of the mission. "The primary mission of the Special Forces is to train other people," he said. "That includes counter-insurgency training behind enemy lines during hostilities, and, dur-



Richard J. Barnett called anxiety about the arms race "the number-one health problem in our country today."

ing peacetime, includes an internal defense training role for troops of other nations."

Clergy, community groups and students across North Carolina have begun to speak out and mobilize against this war fever. On Feb. 13 the Southern Student Activist Network (SSAN) held a meeting at Chapel Hill, N.C., focusing on resistance to U.S. involvement in El Salvador, among other issues. More than 30 students at Duke University leafletted against the training program after Sunday morning services at the school's chapel. Late last month SSAN sponsored a demonstration at Sen. Helms' Raleigh offices. And editorial cartoons and letters to the editor opposing the Reagan administration's foreign policy have begun to appear in major daily newspapers.

Not all the resistance to training Salvadoran troops at Ft. Bragg has come from North Carolina. The Feb. 27 demonstration was sanctioned by the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), which also endorsed the Jan. 11 protest.

—Mark I. Pinsky

Disarmament—just imagine

NEW YORK—On Feb. 13, the New York branch of Physicians for Social Responsibility convened a symposium—"Preparing for Nuclear War: The Psychological Effects"—to discuss, in the words of organizer Dr. David S. Goldman, how "families and social institutions react to the persistent threat of extermination." Of the 1,300 who met at the Roosevelt Hotel for the all-day conference, moder-

ated by Studs Terkel, almost half were psychiatrists, social workers and teachers, many of whom participated for continuing-education credit.

The consensus of the six key speakers was that the nuclear threat looms larger today than at any time since the early '60s, and that muted awareness of this growing peril has led to mass "psychic numbing" and other

social ailments. But all agreed that the hopelessness and helplessness felt by so many Americans can still be transformed into a national movement for disarmament.

"Beneath the fatalism and acceptance that marks most Americans' reactions to the arms race is a deep-seated anxiety and crippling fear," said Richard J. Barnett, co-founder of the Institute for Policy Studies. "This is the number-one health problem in our country today."

John E. Mack, professor of psychiatry at Harvard, described "denial, make-believe and numbing" as the most pervasive responses to the existence of weapons and of mass destruction, citing civil defense planning and limited-nuclear-war scenarios as two common expressions of these phenomena. "We have to show that pretending isn't working," he said, "and the people can make a difference."

Both Dr. Milton Schebel, professor of psychology at Rutgers, and Dr. Sibylle K. Escalona, professor of psychology at Albert Einstein, weighed the impact of the arms race on children. Growing up in a social environment that ignores the risk of human extermination gives rise to powerlessness and cynical resignation," warned Escalona. "We are creating a generation that is ever less prepared to avert the catastrophe."

"People of my generation often deplore the younger generation," commented Dr. Jerome D. Frank, Professor Emeritus of Psychiatry at Johns Hopkins, "but this is really the first post-nuclear generation. I wonder if some of the behaviors we abhor aren't just a groping toward adaptation to the nuclear age."

Several speakers also noted the frustratingly ephemeral nature of the nuclear menace. "We are haunted by something we can't quite see or imagine—nuclear war," said Dr. Robert Jay Lifton, author of *Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima*. "Our task is what Martin Buber called 'imagining the real.'"

"But our imaginations built these weapons," he concluded, in the optimistic vein underlying the conference, "and our imaginations can get rid of them."

—David C. Morrison

Freeze is felt in Connecticut

STORRS, CT—It wouldn't have been so surprising in New Hampshire or Oregon. But when the Connecticut legislature voted overwhelmingly Feb. 24 to support the national campaign for a "Nuclear Weapons Freeze," the move must have raised a few corporate eyebrows.

Connecticut is more dependent on military contracts than any other state. For the past decade, the tiny state with a population a little over three million has been among the top Pentagon buck-grabbers. One out of every four factory workers in Connecticut is making weaponry, ranging from nuclear submarines to the Army's M-16 rifle. And the Reagan administration's planned purchase next year of \$15.7 billion worth of Connecticut military hardware—a whopping \$4.1 billion increase—works out to \$5,040 for every man, woman and child in Connecticut.

Asked how the Nuclear Weapons Freeze resolution managed to get through the state legislature (by an overwhelming voice vote in the state house of representatives Feb. 3 and a 33-to-1 vote in the senate three weeks later), the bill's chief sponsor, State Rep. Irving Stolberg, called the Freeze "a well-balanced and extremely reasonable position." Stolberg, a Democrat from New Haven, was pleased with the breadth of the support. "You had liberals and conservatives, Republicans and Democrats, speak in favor of it, giving varying reasons; but the reasons all come down to the same thing: the nuclear arms race is really an expression of mutual insanity on the part of the Soviets and the Americans."

The resolution calls on the U.S. and the USSR to stop the nuclear arms race by entering into "a bilateral freeze on all further testing, production and deployment of nuclear warheads, missiles and delivery systems"; calls on the president to initiate negotiations leading to such a freeze; and calls on Connecticut's congressional delegation in Washington to support the Weapons Freeze.

Six of the U.S. representatives from Connecticut have joined in supporting the resolution, along with Senator Lowell Weicker. Freshman senator Chris Dodd has not committed himself. Connecticut—described by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce as "the arsenal of the nation"—could become the first state with a delegation unanimously supporting the Freeze.

—David Morse

IN THE NATION

TAX-EXEMPT STATUS

Reagan backtracks on stand

By Ruth Simon

"DON'T JUDGE US BY OUR mistakes...judge us as —how well we recover and solve the situation," President Reagan said Jan. 19 in defense of his clumsy attempts to backtrack on tax breaks for segregated schools. But nearly two months after it revoked the 12-year-old policy of denying tax subsidies to schools that discriminate racially, the administration has yet to recover from the uproar over its initial decision.

Instead, a stream of obfuscation and partial reversals have emanated from the White House. The latest came little more than a week ago (Feb. 25), when government attorneys passed the issue back to the Supreme Court. This brought praise from civil rights groups and members of Congress, but it leaves both the administration's legal reasoning and its motives open to question.

The controversy erupted on Jan. 8 when the Justice Department announced that the administration no longer believed that the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) had the authority to deny tax-exempt status to institutions simply because they violate "fundamental national policies." Thus, Justice Department officials said, the IRS would again grant tax-exempt status to discriminatory schools. In light of the change, they added, government attorneys had asked the Supreme Court to throw out the case of Bob Jones University and Goldboro Christian Schools Inc., two segregationist schools that had challenged the IRS policy as a violation of their First Amendment rights.

The flood of protest that followed quickly forced the administration to modify its position. On Jan. 12, President Reagan announced he would introduce legislation to prohibit tax exemptions for segregated schools, retroactive to 1970. But pending congressional action, government officials said, the IRS would process the applications of Bob Jones and Goldboro.

On Feb. 25, the administration switched its position again, this time because of a federal court order. One week earlier, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia temporarily barred the IRS from granting exemptions to segregated schools. In light of this order, the administration said, the *Bob Jones* case was no longer moot and asked the Supreme Court to decide the issue. Government attorneys said that they would argue the

JAUDON



"MEMO TO THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT...."

First Amendment issue and asked the Court to appoint a third party to defend the IRS' right to deny the exemptions.

A matter of survival.

Tax-exempt status is a matter of survival for many private schools: It eliminates their liability for federal unemployment, Social Security and income tax payments, and allows benefactors to deduct contributions from their taxable income. Since 1970, government officials have denied tax exemptions to stem the proliferation of the "segregation academies" that emerged in response to court-ordered busing.

In 1970 and 1971, the IRS denied exemptions to 115 schools, forcing some of these institutions to change their racial policies and others to fold. In recent years, the IRS has examined 5 to 10 percent of schools annually. Even so, some schools held discriminatory by the courts escaped IRS sanctions, leading to calls for stricter enforcement guidelines.

Southern conservatives, on the other hand, had repeatedly lobbied the administration to reverse its position on the ground that IRS policy violated religious freedom. On Dec. 21, for example, Rep. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) wrote Deputy Attorney General Ed Schmults and Treasury

But it leaves both the administration's legal reasoning and motives open to question.

Secretary Donald Reagan urging them to consult with the president on the issue. Attached to the letter was a copy of the president's log summarizing Lott's request that the White House intervene to grant exemptions. In the margin, Reagan had written, "I think we should."

The administration had filed a brief before the Supreme Court supporting the IRS' actions in September and continued publicly to support that position throughout December. Meanwhile, the possibility of a policy shift was discussed mainly by special assistants and other political appointees, some of whom supported the original IRS position. Lawyers in the Tax Division of the Treasury and Justice Departments and the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, who normally would work on the issue, were largely ignored. In fact, by Jan. 6, government attorneys had completed a brief arguing the merits of the IRS position. But the brief was never filed.

Despite this scenario, administration officials insist the policy shift was not a reaction to political pressure, but the result of careful analysis. "However popular it would have been to come out the other way," said Deputy Treasury Secretary R.T. McNamar, "we and the Justice Department are unable to find that Congress has yet authorized such action in the Internal Revenue Code."

The Internal Revenue Code, administration officials argued, does not require that "educational" institutions also be

"charitable" or that charitable institutions comply with fundamental public policies. Accepting the broader view, said Schmults, would empower the IRS "to deny tax exemptions to institutions that practice sex discrimination one day and to hospitals that practice or prohibit abortions the next."

"I am unalterably opposed to racial discrimination in any form," Reagan said during his Jan. 12 press conference. However, he added, agencies like the IRS, "no matter how well-intentioned, cannot be allowed to govern by administrative fiat."

With its new interpretation of the law, the Reagan administration revoked a policy initiated by the Nixon administration in 1970 under the pressure of a federal court injunction barring tax subsidies for schools that violate civil rights laws. In 1971, the injunction was made permanent for schools in Mississippi, where parents had challenged IRS actions. But, wrote Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Harold Leventhal, "the underlying principle is broader, and is applicable to schools outside Mississippi."

The Supreme Court later affirmed the District Court ruling. While the higher court decision has limited value as a precedent because it lacks a written opinion, the District Court ruling has been cited in several appeals court cases. In addition, many observers believe that Congress recognized the Nixon policy in 1976 when it passed legislation specifically prohibiting exemptions for discriminatory social clubs and in 1979 when it enacted appropriations riders to prevent the IRS from enforcing stricter anti-discrimination rules.

Subsidizing racism.

The administration's actions would effectively have forced black taxpayers to subsidize schools they could not attend. Goldboro does not admit blacks, while Bob Jones prohibits interracial dating and marriage. "The Reagan administration," the *New York Times* editorialized, "is picking the pocket of every American taxpayer to subsidize racism in education."

Given the issue's legislative and judicial history, the administration's decision drew criticism from legal scholars and former IRS officials as well as from the press. "There is no basis whatever," said Harvard University law professor Lawrence Tribe, "for the administration's claim [that denying exemptions to segregated schools]...is simply something the Internal Revenue Service made up as a matter of fiat."

In addition, the IRS' failure to consider the policies of "educational" organizations could result in a backdoor federal subsidy for illegal activities. If educational institutions need not also be charitable, Judge Leventhal wrote, "Fagin's school for pickpockets would qualify for a charitable trust."

The administration answered such charges by saying that agencies like the IRS can act in policy areas if specifically mandated to do so by Congress. But the broad application of the rule would throw a wrench into the workings of Congress and the bureaucracy. In effect, Congress would be forced to provide administrative agencies with specific guidelines for numerous enforcement efforts—a process that would clutter its already overburdened calendar.

Critics also charge that the administration was violating the balance of power between the three branches of government. "The president, in effect, has declared that he and other Executive Branch

Continued on page 10

Which side were you on?

This history of the internal struggles of the Communist Party USA from the signing of the Stalin-Ribbentrop pact to the dawn of the Cold War "stands head and shoulders above recent treatments of the parties of the far Left."—*Eugene D. Genovese*
"Clearly written, carefully documented, invaluable."

—Victor Navasky

WHICH SIDE WERE YOU ON?

The American Communist Party During the Second World War
MAURICE ISSERMAN Illustrated, \$19.95

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY PRESS

At your bookstore or direct from: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
136 So. Broadway, Irvington, N.Y. 10533



ACTORS UNION

Spotlight on politics in Hollywood

By Pat Aufderheide

WHEN ED ASNER PRESENTED a \$25,000 check in front of TV cameras on Feb. 15 in Washington, D.C., he did more than give a gift to the people of El Salvador. He also gave Charlton Heston the opening Heston had been waiting for. Heston is pulling together a protest campaign against Asner who, as president, is the most visible member of a liberal majority now on the executive board of the union that Heston (like Ronald Reagan) once headed. (See *ITT*, Feb. 24; parts of the story are reprinted on page 14.)

The \$25,000 didn't come out of Asner's pocket. Nor did it come from the Screen Actors Guild (SAG). It came from 8,000 donors reached through direct mail by Medical Aid for El Salvador, a group modeled on Medical Aid for Indochina. The group attempts people-to-people medical assistance and channels funds through a Mexican intermediary to popular opposition forces, the FDR-FMLN in El Salvador, for use in their free clinics. Asner is a member of their board of directors, and has been one for a year, predating his election as SAG president.

He presented the money, as he said emphatically at the time, as an individual. "I believe it was announced that I was here as a private citizen," he told one questioner with asperity. "My union will not be asked for one penny through me."

Heston quickly denounced Asner as playing an irresponsible official role. "He was introduced as president of the Guild," Heston told *In These Times*, "and he never said he was speaking as a private citizen." (Transcripts show that Bill Zimmerman introduced Asner as "Ed Asner, better known to me as Lou Grant," referring to him also as a member of the entertainment industry, but not as a union president.)

"He can do anything he wants to with his money as far as I'm concerned," Heston continued. "He can give it to the Soviet Union to pacify Afghanistan if he wants to. But he has an overriding responsibility to separate his own acts from those positions of the Guild." Heston said he had spent two days answering phone calls from irate union members asking whether their dues money was being sent to El Salvador. (Many news stories, especially some on TV, had not reported Asner's qualifying remarks.)

Death threat.

Asner's action was controversial. Probably the most vivid evidence of that was an anonymous death threat he received at Guild offices. Since then, Asner has been protected by bodyguards and the CBS lot where he works has boosted its security. He has complied with CBS requests not to comment on the incident. There are also rumors that a conservative group may boycott products advertised on the *Lou Grant* show. And typical of conservative press response was a *Chicago Tribune* editorial ridiculing Asner, Howard Hesseman (who was also present at the same press conference) "and their Guccied legions"—"Can Jane Fonda doing her morning pushups in guerrilla jungle garb be far behind?" The editorial praised ex-actor Reagan for exercising caution—no examples were given— "showbiz celebrities who, by some strange logic, fancy themselves to be guardians of our morality."

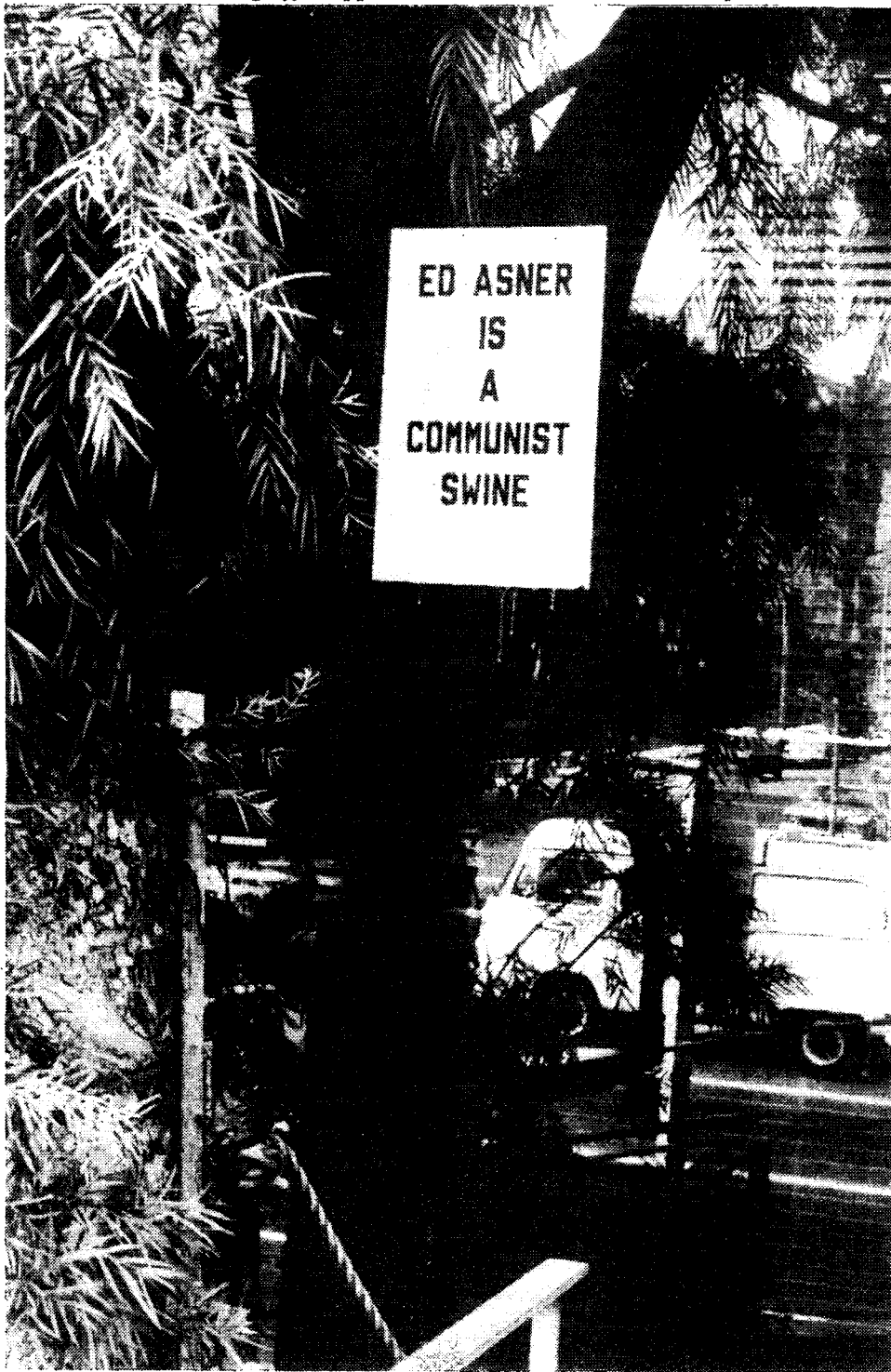
Reagan commented, "I'm very disturbed" about Asner's "political" stance, and recalled the blacklist days when he was president of SAG and when the Guild "had a solid rule" to not engage in politics. (See sidebar for the Guild's historical involvement in politics.)

Asner has solid support within the union, as shown by an executive board resolution passed unanimously in New York

Feb. 23 and 29-to-3 in Los Angeles the next day. "It has always been the tradition of the SAG," emphasized the resolution, "not to impose any restraints on the rights of any member, board member or officer to speak his mind freely as a public citizen."

Heston has found supporters for his call of alarm. He has repeatedly announced that he does "not yet" endorse a movement to recall Asner, and some suggest that the announcements themselves have called into being a recall petition.

After Screen Actors Guild president Ed Asner spoke as a private individual on the El Salvador issue, this graffiti appeared on a window at SAG headquarters.



(But such a petition has no real chance of gaining the 10 percent of SAG members necessary for a recall.) And at a meeting in the North Hollywood High School auditorium Feb. 21, around 250 actors met to hear him oppose Asner's leadership of the union.

One small union.

At the doorway of the auditorium was the tip-off to what the fight is really about—not Ed Asner's personal opinions, but the role of a union beyond the

bargaining table. Between 30 and 50 pro-Asner actors milled at the doorway, unable to enter. To get in, one had to sign a petition against the merger of SAG with AFTRA, the TV and radio actors' union, and with SEG, the extras' union.

Heston emphatically believes in a narrowly limited role for his union. In his conversation with *In These Times* he criticized the "strongly activist majority on the SAG board" that "put President Asner into office." He said taking a stand on public issues "abrogates the rights of members as individuals" since the board speaks for members without polling them, unless it does so at the high cost of \$45,000 a mailing. Many members would disagree, he claimed, with the board majority's views, particularly on El Salvador. (The point is moot, since the board has not taken and does not anticipate taking a position on El Salvador.)

Other trade unionists argue that unions must take a stand on public issues. "Not to get involved," Machinists president William Winpisinger told *In These Times*, "means you subject yourself to the whims and caprice of political life without any input from those immediately affected by it. Look at El Salvador—if we stumble into another Vietnam there, it means the children of members will fight another war over interfering in the self-determination of other people."

Winpisinger cited free public education as an example of what trade union activism in public life has achieved. Machinists head of communications Robert Kalaski also commented, "A lot of the gains in areas not directly related to collective bargaining, such as in consumer and environmental issues, have come about because of trade union activism in wider areas."

Several unions are organizing an inter-union committee "to show there is a broad labor base for opposition to U.S. involvement in El Salvador," said David Dyson of the Clothing and Textile Workers and staff person for the emerging National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. They include the ACTWU, Machinists, UAW, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, the Chemical Workers, Newspaper Guild, the National Education Association, the Service Employees and Graphic Arts Union; several more are considering joining.) The committee plans to announce its list of members in a *New York Times* ad protesting military aid to El Salvador and calling for a negotiated settlement. The ad should appear before the El Salvador elections.

Continued on page 8

Voices from the Guild's political past

Despite Reagan's claim that the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) used to stay clear of politics and Heston's protest that liberals on its board are politicizing the union, a look at Guild decisions since 1948 suggests otherwise. These examples show that the Guild has taken stands on public affairs issues ranging from anti-Communist endorsements in the '40s to pro-ERA endorsements in the '70s, that it has received trade union support for the union and that it has a history of involvement in influencing legislation.

Jan. 15, 1948: SAG members voted that all Guild officers must sign affidavits that they are not members of the Communist Party; they also recommended that the board fight to repeal the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act.

Sept. 17, 1950: SAG president Ronald Reagan sent a telegram to the head of the Crusade for Freedom: "We offer you our complete support in this great counter-offensive against communist lies and treachery."

Feb. 25, 1958: SAG president Leon

Ames attended a White House conference on foreign aspects of national security.

May 1-10, 1959: SAG president Howard Keel participated in a conference on the armed forces and defense policy conducted by the Defense Department for civilian leaders.

March 10, 1960: AFL-CIO president George Meany extended trade union support to the SAG on strike, writing to SAG president Reagan, "You can rely upon the cooperation and assistance of all your fellow unionists in the united labor movement." Foreign actors' unions also sent support, as did the Steelworkers union president.

April 13, 1961: The SAG board decided to join a May conference in Costa Rica to talk about "an anti-Communist federation of unions and guilds in the entertainment industry throughout the Americas."

Aug. 8, 1966: SAG president Charlton Heston headed a SAG delegation at a California Labor Federation AFL-CIO convention, at which "scores of resolutions designed to cope with a

wide variety of state and national social and economic problems" were discussed.

Nov. 16, 1969: SAG president Heston announced that SAG had hired a former senator to lead a lobbying push for a tax incentive plan to encourage film production.

Sept. 9, 1977: The SAG board denounced "the recent Anita Bryant campaign" against homosexuals, urging all "to consider carefully that the next person's rights to be invaded may be theirs."

Nov. 20, 1977: SAG members protested to Gov. Brown the removal of 78,000 Californians, including many actors, from unemployment insurance.

Aug. 7, 1978: SAG president Charlton Heston assembled many members of the Equal Rights Amendment from the entertainment industry for a press conference.

Oct. 9, 1978: SAG's Hollywood board opposed Prop. 6, the anti-homosexual "Briggs Initiative," on the California ballot.

—Pat Aufderheide

Actors

Continued from page 7

SAG has not taken a stand on El Salvador. But the Guild does increasingly exercise a broad definition of a union's role. As the 1980 strike demonstrated—when the SAG received wide support from other unions—the Guild has increasingly worked within the trade union network. And Heston, a staunch defender of the go-it-alone school of self-protective trade unionism, objects to that.

"Interunion solidarity is meaningless for the SAG," he said. "The Guild is nearly unique in organized labor, in its capacity to shut down an entire industry without even mounting a picket line. We don't need help from another union, either to negotiate or to strike." (This position is similar to other professional unions, such as PATCO.) Heston thinks other unions benefit more from SAG members' visibility and celebrity than SAG benefits from other unions' support.

He objects in general to hardening the lines between management and workers. He calls Asner's personal style "aggressive" and "confrontational," and urges "moderation" and "compromise" in bargaining. If he were in charge, Heston would hold a conference to look for ways to solve the crisis of declining production, "with studios, guilds, exhibitors and networks."

Would he go so far as to offer lower labor costs to management? "You bet. I would," he said. "I would explore every means of reducing production costs, labor costs, every kind of cost—we are in a crisis!"

The mergers threaten job security, in Heston's view, because they take SAG officials' time away from "creative solutions" to unemployment problems of current members and also by tempting management to flee to areas of non-union labor.

Asner, meanwhile, at a Feb. 25 press conference announcing the executive board's support for him, argued that all the talk about his personal action was unfairly drawing attention away from a recently signed commercials contract—"probably the best contract for actors anywhere in the world"—that showed SAG was indeed hard at work for its members. The contract features record day rates for extras, cost-of-living clauses and pathbreaking clauses on affirmative action and employment of minors.

If the Guild is getting the job done, what upsets Heston so much? Part of his conservatism can be explained, according to Kevin Lynch, public affairs director of UAW District 65, by his background. "Heston was a leader in a trade union in other times, and, unfortunately, he seems not to have kept abreast of what's happening in the labor movement today," he said.

But another part of the explanation challenges Heston's representation of his own views on unions as apolitical. "I think Heston's politics are showing on

this one," said Russell Gibbons, public relations officer at the Steelworkers union.

"Heston is a Reagan person, and I'm sure he represents in this case a conservative group of actors, who resent the fact that they have to pay dues to AFTRA if they go on a talk show—and really resent having to be in a union at all."

Screen Actors Guild headquarters are 7750 Sunset Blvd., Hollywood, CA 90046. Write Medical Aid for El Salvador at P.O. Box 3282, Los Angeles, CA 90028.

CPAC

Continued from page 3

Republican Sen. Jesse Helms was critical of American support for land reform and for the government of Napoleon Duarte, whom he described as a "man far to the left of George McGovern."

"Is El Salvador another Vietnam?" Helms asked rhetorically. "That depends on whether the American people will sit back and allow communism to engulf this hemisphere. There are 10 million people between our border and Panama. How many can we expect to flood our borders? We'll have to call them the 'feet people.'"

Haig's tour de force.

Much of the conference criticism was directed at Haig and the State Department. On Saturday, the conference's last

full day, Haig took the stand in his own defense, summarizing briefly his foreign policy and then answering questions and criticisms for an hour. Speaking without a prepared text, Haig took on his opponents directly, without tailoring his views to fit their own.

"A foreign policy must avoid excesses of style," Haig began. "We must recognize that a foreign policy that ignores traditional values and focuses on self-interest and *realpolitik* will offend us. We must also recognize that a foreign policy which ignores relationships of national power in a compulsive, pious search for ideological values offends our sense of reality."

Haig reiterated his "four pillars" view of American foreign policy. He stressed the importance of "the alliances and traditional friendships among those nations that share a common outlook with us," "restraint and reciprocity" in dealing with the Eastern bloc and "sensitiv-



ity toward the tentative approaches" to the West by governments ostensibly opposed to the U.S.

In fielding the conference participants' questions, Haig repeated two points frequently: first, the need for the U.S. to "act multilaterally rather than unilaterally," whether dealing with Poland or with El Salvador; and second, the need to appreciate the subtleties of power relationships and not be misled by labels, whether evaluating policy toward China or toward Southern Africa.

Two exchanges brought out the distance between Haig and the audience. When asked to defend the administration's attempt to bring the Communist Angolan government into a settlement on Namibia, Haig responded, "We view it [Namibia] as a regional problem, where it is important to decouple super-power rivalries. In Africa, the evolution of revolution does require greater sensitivity. Don't believe the labels. Don't accept that once a Marxist-Leninist always a Marxist-Leninist."

When asked about what threat the European peace movement posed to American interests, he took a far different tack from former National Security Advisor Richard Allen, who had attacked European "pacifism" at last year's conference. "What is important is to recognize that there is, first and foremost, genuine concern among serious, well-meaning people in Western Europe as they witness the proliferation of nuclear weaponry on their soil. No place is that more intense than West Germany, where for a square foot the density of nuclear weapons exceeds that of any state of our nation."

"That concern has merged with the so-called nuclear concerns about the peaceful use area, where I'm told the environmentalists have joined together in a clear expression of subjective tensions about the nuclear genie. That should not be distorted, except for certain hardcore aspects of it, to be an automatic reflection of neutralism or pacifism. Our European friends who sit at the edge of the danger are not insensitive to these dangers. In fact, they are more sensitive than most Americans, and rightly so."

Haig won few converts by his performance, but many participants were impressed by the attention he had shown them. "This alone would have made the whole conference worthwhile," one YAF member said.

Drawing by David Levine reprinted with permission of N.Y. Review of Books, N.Y. Review, Inc. © 1982.

Reaganism's risks...

in the economy

"A devastating critique of Reaganomics, as witty as it is trenchant. Robert Lekachman has written the book that the Reagan administration deserves."

—ROBERT HEILBRONER,

Professor of Economics, New School for Social Research

"Lekachman shows eloquently how failure by supply-siders and monetarists has gone to their heads...and what might be done about it."

—CONGRESSMAN HENRY S. REUSS

"A clearly written exposé well worth reading."

—DOUGLAS FRASER, President, United Auto Workers

"The only thing better than this book is its exquisite timing."

—JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

\$13.50

GREED IS NOT ENOUGH
Reaganomics
by ROBERT LEKACHMAN

in foreign affairs

"This is a myth-shattering book Americans can ignore only at their own peril...Brilliant, blunt, uncompromising and disturbing."

—L. S. STAVRIANOS, *Los Angeles Times*, Front-page review

"The most compelling critique yet available of America's current world role, of the motivations of its leaders, as well as the ideological support given by the mainstream media and intellectuals."

—ROBERT FALK, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs

"A panorama of futile violence, intellectual dishonesty, and political immorality."

—EDWARD W. SAID, author of *Covering Islam*

Paper \$8.95, cloth \$20.50

TOWARDS A NEW COLD WAR
Essays on the Current Crisis and How We Got There
by NOAM CHOMSKY

in the Middle East

Are we repeating our mistakes? Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf...

"Intriguing...An important story that others missed."

—SCOTT ARMSTRONG, *Washington Post Book World*

"A perceptive analysis of the interworkings and thinking of the Iranian revolution."

—PIERRE SALINGER

"Heikal is one of the great journalists of our time. What makes him a great journalist is the combination of a powerful analytical mind, a fluent pen, and a strong sense of the entertainment value of news."

—EDWARD MORTIMER, *The Times* (London)

\$14.50

IRAN: THE UNTOLD STORY
An Insider's Account of America's Iranian Adventure and Its Consequences for the Future
by MOHAMED HEIKAL

Now at your bookstore

PANTHEON



IN THE WORLD



The main force in Italian politics today is the "Craxi factor"—the ambition of Italian Socialist Party first secretary Bettino Craxi to become prime minister.

ITALY

The left shuffles party lines

This is the first of a series of reports on the state of the Italian left after the Italian Communist Party's break with Moscow over Poland. Subsequent articles will deal with the Communists' search for a "third way" and the dilemmas facing the labor movement.

By Diana Johnstone

R O M E

THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY's break with Moscow over Poland is acknowledged by all sides as one of historic significance and has precipitated far-reaching debate within the party and the entire Italian left. Yet its immediate impact seems limited to the level of principles and ideas. And one of the most troubling questions arising from the present anguished period of transition into the unknown is what relation, if any, may remain between the level of principles and ideas and the level of practical politics.

For years, politicians in the governing parties have claimed that only a full break with the USSR could remove what journalistic jargon has called the "K factor"—the stigma preventing the Italian Communist Party (PCI), even though chosen by over a third of Italian voters, from taking part in a national coalition government. Now that the full break has come, the same politicians are scrambling to find other pretexts to maintain the veto.

The main factor operating on the level of practical politics in Italy today is the "Craxi factor"—the ambition of Italian Socialist Party (PSI) first secretary Bettino Craxi to become prime minister of a stable government made up of the same coalition of Christian Democrats, Socialists and three small "laic" parties already in power, but with a main share of power to the Socialists. Craxi sees a chance for his party to replace the Christian Democrats as a more modern and efficient pro-American and pro-business party. This clearly precludes any alliance to the left with the Communists.

The Italian Communists' break with Moscow has been coming for a long time.

It has coincided with the gradual abandonment of the policy of the "historic compromise"—the effort to be assimilated into governing coalition with the Christian Democrats—a process in fact brought to a halt by the Red Brigades when they assassinated chief Christian Democratic compromiser Aldo Moro in 1978. A tacit assumption behind the "historic compromise" policy was that sharing the harness with Catholics might be a way of overcoming the "K factor," of avoiding the fate of Allende. A left alternative—that coalition between the PCI and the Socialists (and perhaps other laic parties)—was considered much too dangerous, especially after the 1973 Chilean coup.

The removal of the "K factor" through complete rupture with Moscow thus fits in with the PCI's turn away from the Christian Democrats toward efforts to form a left alternative in alliance with the Italian Socialist Party (PSI). This relationship between the PCI's domestic and international policies was brought out sharply when Franco Rodano, a Catholic Marxist once considered Berlinguer's gray eminence, attacked Berlinguer's criticism of the Eastern European socialist countries as "politically childish," "obviously anti-historical" and "an attempt to break the worker movement."

Rodano is considered hostile to the PCI's move to ally with laic politicians rather than Catholic forces. His attack served to spread the news that the obscure Rodano was the real inventor of the defunct historic compromise, and not Enrico Berlinguer, who is thus free to espouse whatever new theories he can find to hold his troubled organization together.

The PCI's difficulties in developing a consensus around a new political perspective are compounded by the circumstance that just as the PCI turns decisively toward the Socialists, the Socialists are running rapidly away to the right. The PCI recently issued an economic and social policy program as basis for discussion with the Socialists toward an eventual common program, and it shows a willingness to support PSI secretary Bettino Craxi's famous ambitions to be

prime minister as a first step toward an eventual left alternative. To these and other advances, Craxi has responded by finally dropping his party's long-standing claim to seek left unity and ruling out the left alternative.

A left alternative would, indeed, have to be won in new elections—by no means impossible in light of the left victories in France and Greece, some insist. Craxi's ambition, on the contrary, is to take over leadership of the existing centrist coalition. The Christian Democratic Party is suffering from its own leadership crisis, and Craxi can well hope that its decline, hastened by scandals and most of all by Italy's secularization, opens a space for the PSI to take over as Italy's main ruling party. Craxi has been working hard to woo interest groups

Since the Communists' break with Moscow over Poland, the Party has turned decisively toward the Socialists. But the Socialists are running rapidly away to the right.

—including the Reagan administration—that up to now have supported Christian Democrats. He is selling the PSI as a more modern party better able to assure "governability."

Danger of closed bases.

Leading Sicilian Communist Luigi Colajanni points out that the closed bases, with their enclave military populations, largely American, and even more the Cruise nuclear missile installations will inevitably bring an influx of secret police and intelligence agents with a "danger of transforming democratic political life." As past experience around northern bases has shown, there is also the danger of prostitution, drugs and related trafficking. "It needs to be kept in mind that in Sicily such business is controlled by the Mafia, and that the missiles can therefore be a great opportunity for the unhealthy forces in the island," says Colajanni.

U.S.-led neo-colonial "rapid deployment force" for use in the Middle East and Africa. Ostensibly to meet the Libyan threat, Lagorio is promoting installation of major U.S. bases in Sicily. The Italian government has been the quickest in Europe to give unconditional consent to installation of new NATO nuclear missiles. Aside from winning American approval, the missile decision serves to keep the PCI stuck in the opposition.

The militarization of Sicily is particularly disturbing in light of past undercover American projects for promoting Sicilian secessionist currents (as blackmail against an eventual left electoral victory). PDUP (Democratic Party of Proletarian Unity) secretary for the region Claudio Riolo complains that militarization, with the requisition of entire zones and environmental destruction, "is exactly the opposite of the development model based on farming, tourism and integrated industry that the unions and democratic forces have been fighting for."

Leading Sicilian Communist Luigi Colajanni points out that the closed bases, with their enclave military populations, largely American, and even more the Cruise nuclear missile installations will inevitably bring an influx of secret police and intelligence agents with a "danger of transforming democratic political life." As past experience around northern bases has shown, there is also the danger of prostitution, drugs and related trafficking. "It needs to be kept in mind that in Sicily such business is controlled by the Mafia, and that the missiles can therefore be a great opportunity for the unhealthy forces in the island," says Colajanni.

Catholic Cardinal Salvatore Pappalardo of Palermo has also warned against the "moral consequences" of the Cruise missiles in Sicily.

Craxi's PSI is additionally threatening to wreck local left coalitions that have provided most of Italy's major cities with honest municipal government. The Socialists have been picking quarrels with the PCI in towns with Communist mayors, such as Turin and Florence. The implicit threat is to shift to governing coalition with the right, unless the PCI lets the smaller PSI have the mayor's office. The PSI seems held back from switching locally to center-right coalitions only by fear of losing its remaining working class and intellectual voters.

Competition for favors.

This has set off a certain competition for American favors with the Christian Democrats, who are not totally reconciled to being shoved into second place by Craxi's

organization. This rivalry accounts for Christian Democratic foreign minister Emilio Colombo's surprising statement of support for El Salvador junta leader Duarte, praised as a fellow Christian Democrat.

At a time when the junta's massacres are arousing growing indignation in Italy, Colombo was expected to keep a safe distance from the issue. But apparently he could not resist the chance to send a message to the Reagan administration that only the good old Christian Democrats could be relied on to support the U.S. no matter what. Colombo may have wanted to remind Washington that the PSI has mixed loyalties since it belongs to the Socialist International that supports the opposition in El Salvador.

Continued on page 10

IRS

Continued from page 6

officials have the authority to pick and choose which court orders they will obey and which they will disregard," said NAACP head Benjamin Hooks. The administration's actions, added Georgetown University Law Professor Michael Sanders, "may be viewed as an attempt through 'executive fiat' to manipulate the branches of government to achieve a result that would serve certain private purposes at the expense of the national welfare."

The administration's decision to turn the case back to the courts has reduced criticisms of "executive fiat." It has relieved members of Congress who were unhappy with having to decide the politically explosive issue. While Congress has been quick to use appropriation riders to limit IRS authority to enforce anti-discrimination laws, few legislators are willing to take on the issue on broader terms. Some observers had also feared that with many Republicans and Democrats cool to President Reagan's legislative proposal and Southern conservatives clearly opposed, Congress might fail to enact a bill—an action the administration could use to justify granting exemptions to other segregated schools.

But by turning the issue back to the courts, the administration has quieted its critics without modifying its belief that the IRS lacks the authority to enforce anti-discrimination rules. While the execu-

utive branch has previously asked that a "friend of the court" be appointed to argue in its place, says Harvard professor Tribe, this is "the first time that a long-standing policy has been abandoned by the chief executive." And, if the Court decides to hear the case in April, government attorneys will be put in the unusual situation of opposing the position they had presented to the Court months earlier.

Italy

Continued from page 9

This was a chance for Craxi to display his skill at the game. He strongly condemned the foreign minister for making such a unilateral partisan declaration and demanded a parliamentary debate and vote on the issue. For months, Craxi has been looking for an opportunity for what he calls a "verification" of the ruling majority—that is, elections that would return the same majority coalition, but giving the Socialists a larger share. There are indications that the PSI might improve its score from its recent 10 percent to 12 percent nationwide to as much as 15 percent. In by-elections in early February, the PSI picked up votes from both the Christian Democrats and the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI).

With no political change in mind other than to take over the premiership from Republican Giovanni Spadolini, Craxi needs to bring down the government on a popular issue that will reassure the part of the PSI electorate that may be alienat-

ed by all the recent reassurances to the right. El Salvador is perfect. Opposition to the American-armed junta there is rapidly becoming the most popular cause in Italy.

Campaigning on that issue would counteract accusations that Craxi has sold out—or at least tried to sell out—to the Reagan administration. At the same time, Italy is not going to do anything about El Salvador other than talk—whereas the Cruise missiles in Sicily are for real. It remains to be seen whether the Reagan administration will appreciate this distinction.

Italian Communist leaders have congratulated Craxi for taking the right position on El Salvador, recalling that this is the position of the Socialist International. Since the break with Moscow, PCI leaders seem to be placing great hope in the Socialist International—both as a new point of reference in such matters as disarmament and north-south relations, and also, perhaps, as a force to persuade Craxi to moderate his alignment with the U.S.

Shortly after the Polish coup, when the PCI was basking in Western praise for its attack on the Soviet Union, the Italian Communists found themselves in the enjoyably odd position of defending the German Social Democrats against accusations of not doing enough to help the Poles. This contributed to a certain rapprochement between Berlinguer and Willy Brandt (of limited consequences, since neither is in power), while West German Social Democrats concerned with putting a brake on the arms race have been complaining privately that the

Italian Socialists are irresponsible opportunists, whereas the PCI is a more serious organization.

Masks of power.

Meanwhile, in early February much of Italy was masked and in fancy costume, trying to crowd into Venice for the most successful carnival in years, or joining in lesser festivities elsewhere. What Italians call the *riflusso*, or ebb tide in political commitment, is good for carnival and for various artistic activities. The *riflusso* feeds and is fed by the fear that power in Italy is masked, that things are decided not through open democratic debate but are skewed by a resurgence of the clandestine politics of secret societies that have flourished in past times of troubles in Italy. The mysterious activities of the Masonic lodge P-2, the Red Brigades and the perennial Mafia constantly mock the country's democratic political life.

On Jan. 28, American Brigadier General James Dozier was freed by a police raid in Padua 42 days after being kidnapped by the Red Brigades. Many political people feel a lot was fishy about that whole event. The Red Brigades—by now surely infiltrated and to some extent manipulated by various rival intelligence services—are split and waging ideological battle between "movementist" and "militarist" factions.

The "militarists" who seized Gen. Dozier seemed to have absolutely no idea what to do with him (there was not even anyone in the group who could question him in English) other than sit around feeding him big American breakfasts until the rescuers arrived. And once they were arrested, the terrorists began to give away their comrades in an unprecedented flood of denunciations.

There have always been reports of police brutality, especially during and right after arrests. But for the first time in the long history of Italian terrorism, scores of coinciding accusations and circumstantial accounts gave credence to the suspicion that arrested terrorists had been systematically tortured during interrogation. Members of parliament, such as the independent left jurist Stefano Rodota, raised the question in the house. The government denied it. But reports continue to appear in the press indicating that a major barrier has dropped—that from now on police feel free to torture prisoners, and that from political cases the practice has rapidly extended to suspects in ordinary crimes. There have been rumors that American experts were involved in the interrogations.

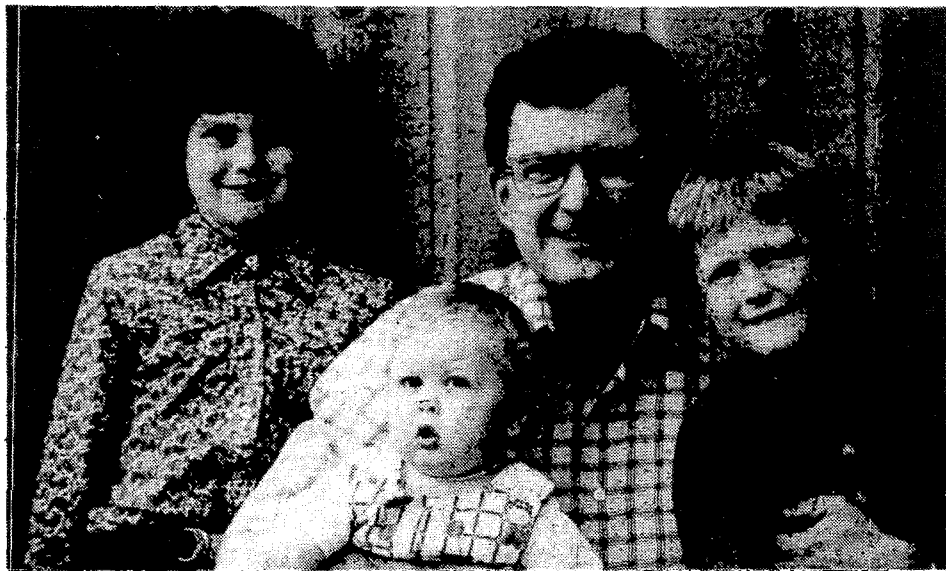
Craxi has long had a very peculiar attitude toward terrorism. After the Moro case, he joined with the Autonomy far left in criticizing the Communists for refusing to try to bargain with the Red Brigades for Moro's release. Then, on Jan. 15, PSI leaders held what Craxi called a "very important meeting" on terrorism's international connections and political and cultural roots. Craxi's lieutenant Claudio Martelli (who has been sent twice to Washington to try to arrange for a meeting between Craxi and Reagan) presented a report that dismissed rightist terrorism as less dangerous to democracy than terrorism "from the communist ultra-left." Martelli maintained that the "cultural base of terrorism is entirely coherent with the Marxist-Leninist-Third World culture which inundated Italy in the last 20 years." The report also blamed the many "sorcerers' apprentices in our schools and universities."

If the terrorist attacks get worse, Martelli suggested, "the consistent political act would be recognition of a state of war existing between guerrilla groups and the armed forces." This is what Italy's neo-fascists have been proposing.

The PSI's elder statemen such as Riccardo Lombardi objected. But the old socialists, attached to their party's tradition of working-class struggle, have been shoved aside by a new generation of pragmatists led by Craxi.

Next week: An interview with member of parliament Franco Bassanini, who was called "shit-face" and slapped in the Italian parliament for opposing installations of Cruise missiles in Sicily, then expelled from the Italian Socialist Party.

Zolton Ferency the democratic candidate for Governor of Michigan



Zolton Ferency wants a better world for his grandchildren...and yours.

Your Contribution Is Needed Now

Public opinion polls and surveys show that Zolton Ferency is one of the leading candidates in the democratic gubernatorial primary to be held on August 3, 1982.

The Ferency Campaign has already received over \$50,000 in contributions from every Congressional district in Michigan and nearly every state in the union. Under Michigan's public funding law, where individual contributions are matched by public funds on a two-for-one basis, the campaign is immediately eligible to receive over \$100,000 from the state, and will continue to receive \$2 for every \$1 contributed during the rest of the campaign.

For example, your contribution of \$100 right now will produce a total of \$300 for the campaign effort. Likewise, a \$50 contribution will produce \$150 and \$20 will mean \$60 in needed financial support. Remember too, each member of your family, other relatives, friends and co-workers may also contribute up to \$100.

In 1978, Zolton Ferency came in a very strong second in a gubernatorial primary where three well-financed candidates outspent the Ferency Campaign by as much as three to one. Many political analysts believe that Ferency is even stronger this time and could very well finish first.

This Time You Can Help Make It Happen. Send Your Check Today.

Yes, count me in.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Signature _____

Enclosed Is My Contribution Of:

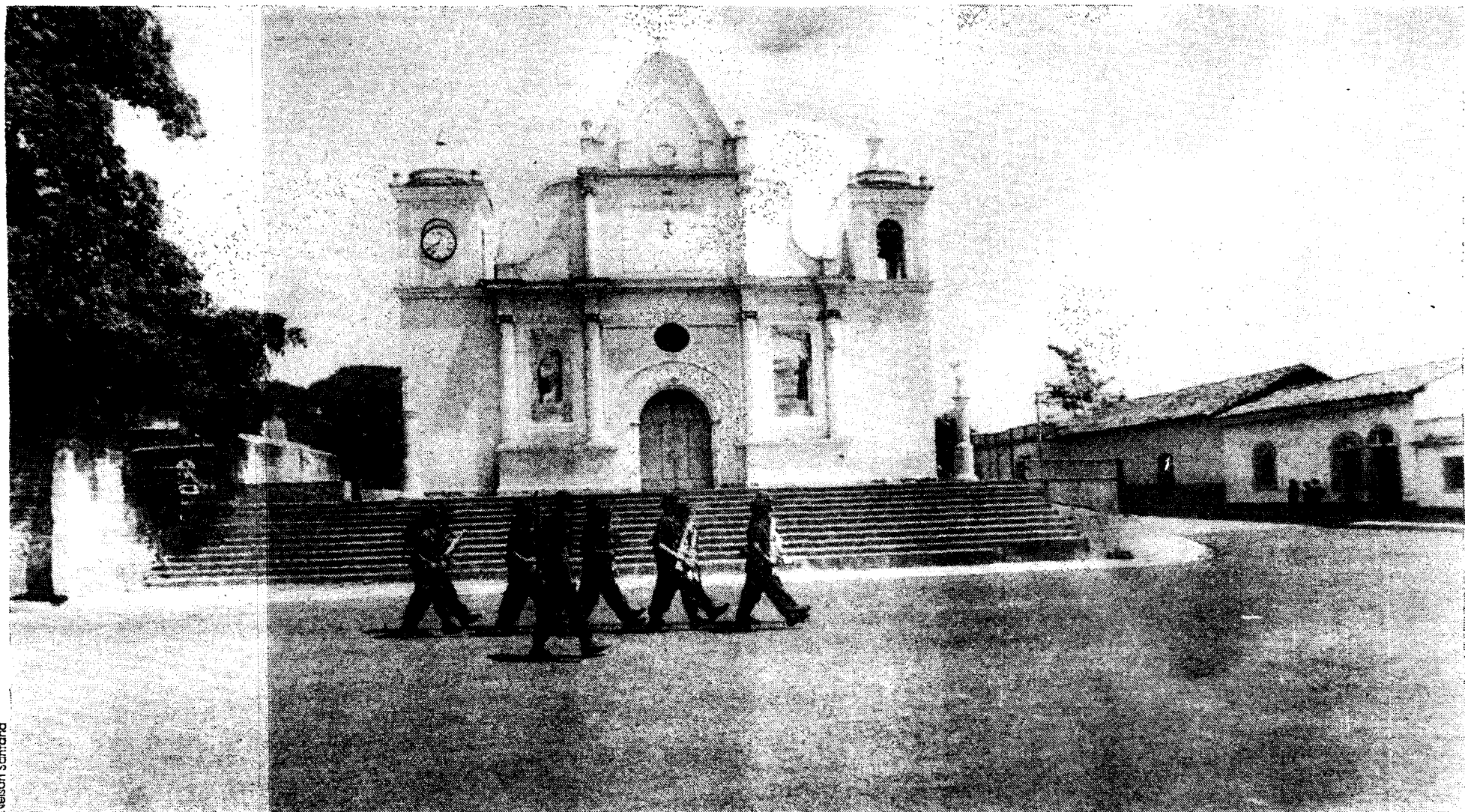
**Mail to: Ferency Campaign
P.O. Box 20
East Lansing, MI 48823**

No other candidate is calling for the fundamental changes that have to be made—

- A new emphasis and reliance on public enterprise to create jobs and economic equity with public support for industrial, agricultural and service jobs that permanently locate in Michigan.
- A state-owned bank to provide credit and financing for small businesses and farms.
- The public, not-for-profit ownership and control over the production, distribution and sale of natural gas, electricity, telephone service and other utilities.
- The reduction of property and consumer taxes with graduated income taxes based upon the ability to pay.

Authorized and paid for by Ferency Campaign Committee, P.O. Box 20, East Lansing, MI 48823; Philip Ballbach, Treasurer.

- The protection of the environment with legislation to halt the construction of nuclear power plants and to decommission existing ones, to prevent the construction of Project E.L.F. and the dumping of nuclear wastes in Michigan.
- The control of crime by creating more jobs and concentrating on serious crime, while removing matters of social concern from the criminal justice system and working toward community control over the incarcerated.
- The guarantee of the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike for all employees—public and private.
- The protection of political, social and economic rights of all women, including the right to terminate pregnancies, regardless of economic circumstances.
- The implementation of affirmative action to eliminate sexism, racism and the segregation of older people.



The most obvious problem is that the army has expanded faster than its training capacity.

By Nelson Santana

SAN SALVADOR

LAST WEEK FIVE YOUNG SALVADORAN army officers strode into an eatery in San Francisco Gotera, the capital of the embattled province of Morazan. They took over a table, tape player blaring Paul McCartney, and downed two dozen beers between them. Any attempt to talk politics was deflected by the ranking officer, a solidly built 32-year-old who had gone through two months' training at the U.S. base in Panama.

"Look," he said. "Tomorrow at 6 a.m. they may line us up and send us up north. I might never come back. And my friends here"—he made a grandiloquent wave of his hand—"will remember me fondly. For a couple of hours. My girlfriend will think of me sadly. For two or three days. So let's drink up."

San Francisco Gotera, like many Salvadoran cities, is a garrison town with a growth industry. Its dusty streets are lined with too many beer halls and pharmacies for its population of 5,000, and an entire block has been taken over by cement mixers constructing new quarters for the troops overflowing their barracks. The town itself has been relatively quiet since it was briefly taken in the guerrilla offensive a year ago January, but troops live with the daily prospect of being sent "up north" to root out guerrilla camps, more often walking into ambushes and booby-traps. The frustration of such missions was one of the factors in the army's December massacre of civilians in Morazan's canton of Mozote, which included many members of conservative evangelical sects considered sympathetic to the government.

Strain on armed forces.

With much of the attention toward El Salvador's shadow war focused on the issue of U.S. military aid, the strain on the Salvadoran armed forces themselves has been an important, if quieter, development. The most obvious problem is that the army has expanded faster than its training capacity, nearly doubling over the past two years to a total strength of around 40,000. The security forces (the National Guard, National Police and Treasury Police) have also doubled, to more than 15,000.

The ranks of the army have been swelled by increasingly young draftees fighting for a base pay of less than \$60 a month. Although the official minimum age for conscription is 18, many recruits are far younger. One 15-year-old currently at the Medical Center in Morazan recovering from a leg wound incurred "up north" is a 14-month veteran of the armed services.

EL SALVADOR

The armed forces buckle under strain

The officers' corps has problems of different sorts. Both the troop expansion and the guerrilla tactic of targetting officers has created a critical shortage in the Salvadoran command, and the officers' training program at the military school in San Salvador was recently reduced by a year to help meet the demand.

But the officers corps has also been badly shaken by two highly publicized cases that could threaten the sense of legal immunity that has been the base of the Salvadoran command structure. One is the long-awaited prosecution of the five National Guardsmen accused of murdering the four U.S. religious women in December 1980. Proceedings were initiated last week, largely as a result of pressures from the Reagan administration.

But another unrelated case recently came to light revealing the bizarre history of Major Guillermo Roeder. Roeder, an 18-year veteran of the Salvadoran army, founded a security corporation that marketed protection to wealthy Salvadorans who feared assaults and kidnappings. As it happened, Roeder was also using his experience and security forces contacts to carry out a kidnapping ring of his own, snatching members of the same wealthy families that formed his clientele, while disguising the crimes as actions of a guerrilla group known as the PRTC (Central American Workers' Party). The Roeder ring recovered more than \$1 million in its activities, which included the 1980 kidnapping of Central American department store magnate Roberto Siman.

"I find myself morally devastated, with the whole world turned against me," mourned Roeder at a press conference in San Salvador last week. Indeed, the question of the moment was who had turned against him and the military's prestige to make the case public.

The Christian Democrats, running a desperate race toward the March 28 Constituent Assembly elections, immediately picked up the case to discredit Major Roberto D'Abuissou and his ARENA party (National Republican Alliance). An extensive ad campaign linked Roeder to D'Abuissou and claimed that an ARENA victory would mean continuation of the "gangsterism" of former eras of military rule. D'Abuissou himself was head of intelligence and interrogation in the

Salvadoran National Guard for nearly a decade and his party, representing the Salvadoran "ultra-right," is the fastest-growing in the country.

The Salvadoran army has maintained a public posture of neutrality toward the elections, since it will not lose power whatever the outcome. But this does not mean that the armed forces have mastered the threat from within. Salvadoran government sources have confirmed that the spectacular attack on the Ilopango Air Base in early February was not an armed confrontation as reported, but rather an "inside job" of planted explosives.

The attack destroyed eight planes and six helicopters, prompting the Reagan administration to send an additional \$25 million toward restoring the damage at Ilopango alone. The Salvadoran military now

has several air base personnel in custody under suspicion of carrying out the bombing.

And two weeks ago there was an incident of mutiny and insubordination at the strategically key San Carlos army base in the capital. Although the details remain unknown, an officer from the base has confirmed that several officers were captured outside the base and are now being held in custody. Under the circumstances, the administration and the Pentagon may find that the Salvadoran military is an increasingly difficult horse to back.

For many officers in the Salvadoran army, their finest moment was their 1969 "defeat" of the Hondurans in the so-called Soccer War. It seemed made to order in many respects: a brief series of lightning actions across the border (the Salvadorans were attempting to model themselves after the Israelis); little disturbance of the political or social order, but a national victory scored and celebrated.

Today the Salvadoran armed forces find themselves in the opposite position. No one is talking about a fast or easy victory these days, and the word applied to the situation is also borrowed from soccer—"empate," or tie.

Nelson Santana reports on Central American affairs.

Subscribe to
IN THESE TIMES

- ☐ YES, I want to try **IN THESE TIMES**, the alternative newsweekly! I don't even have to enclose payment now—you'll bill me later.
- MY GUARANTEE:** if at any time I decide to cancel, you will refund my money on all unmailed copies, with no questions asked.
- ☐ Send me 6 months for only \$12.95.
- ☐ Send me one year for only \$23.50.



"I look forward to reading *In These Times* each week. It has articles and insights I find nowhere else."

Studs Terkel

- ☐ Payment enclosed. ☐ Bill me later.
- ☐ Charge my: ☐ VISA ☐ Master Charge

Acct. No. _____

Signature _____

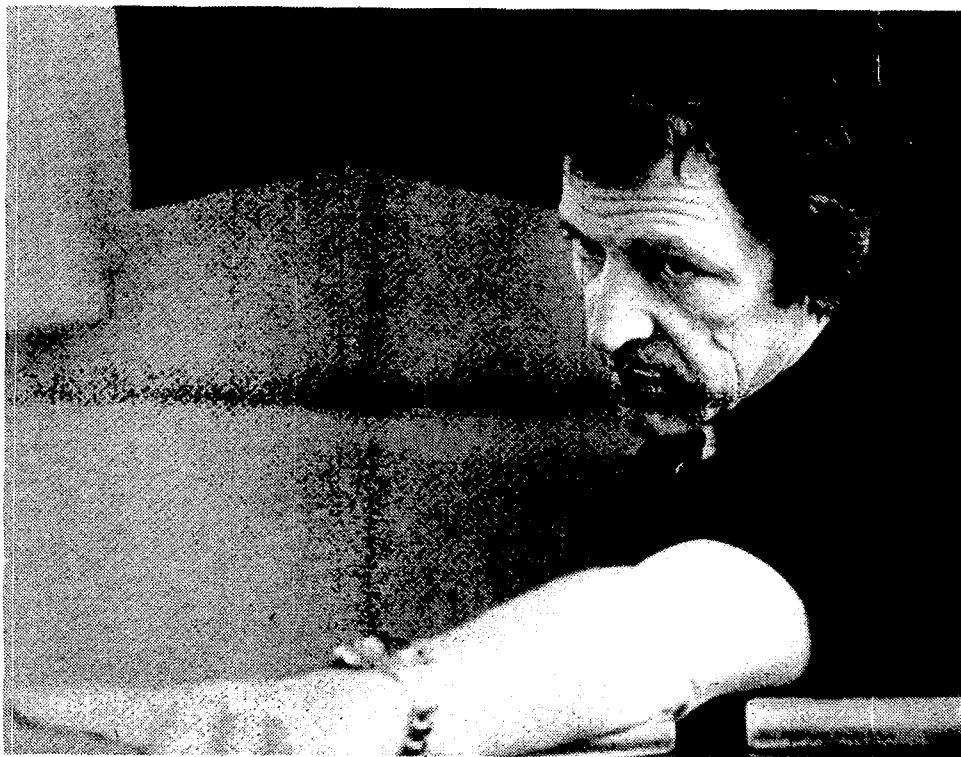
Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

IN THESE TIMES
1509 N. Milwaukee
Chicago, IL 60622

Who's Afraid of Costa-Gavras?



Director Costa-Gavras was interested in "the family's tragedy inside the country's tragedy."

Interview with the director

What interested you in the Horman family tragedy?

The family's tragedy inside the country's tragedy. It was interesting because the father was conservative, and the son wanted a completely different kind of life. Then through the tragedy he discovers his son, accepts him and discovers a part of his country he had never been able to see or understand.

How do you respond to State Department criticism that there is no factual basis for charges of American complicity in the murder of Charles Horman or in the coup?

We never say there is complicity. We just give both sides, the impressions of the father and what the officials said. There is much more evidence in the book against the officials. The dramatic capacity of a movie and the strength of Jack Lemmon's and Sissy Spacek's interpretations give a very strong feeling, though.

Why were Chile and Allende never mentioned in the film?

We wanted to make the audience play detective a little bit. And it would be another movie if you made one about Allende. We wanted to make a personal story, Horman's story. Horman had nothing to do with Allende. I also wanted that story to be universal, in-

stead of one about something that happened ten years ago in Chile and now it's over. There are thousands of people who disappear around the world today.

How did Jack Lemmon become interested in this script?

I thought he was the only one who could play it. He read it and accepted it. I started to explain it and he said, "Look, I like your movies, and I trust you, and so you tell me what to do and I'll do it."

Do you feel the father understands his son's political beliefs by the end of the film?

I know he accepts his son at the end of the film. His son was Harvard-educated, and he probably wanted him to have a career. But he finally understands and accepts his son's life.

What kinds of "radicals" were Charles and "Beth" (in real life, Joyce) Horman?

I went through his writings and his letters to family and friends, and I discovered a kind of typical young American radical. A little naive, without strong ideological background, just a humanistic point of view about all things. I think she was less than him; she just followed his positions.

They were passionate people. They were not as philosophical, as intellec-

Continued on page 22



John S. Charles
American
disappeared
1973 C

Recreating the real-life drama

Missing is a moving story of loss and discovery. Solidly within Constantin Costa-Gavras' style (*Z*, *The Confession*, *State of Siege*, *Special Section*), it makes a dramatic feature out of real-life political drama. This film focuses more closely than does most of his better-known work on the personal. It traces transformation in attitude within one family—mostly in the father of the family—as a result of sorrow triggered by political violence.

The story is true and the characters are real, as the film makes clear at the outset. (The original phrasing, according to an article in *American Film*, ended, "Some names have been changed to protect the innocent. The accused are already protected." Now the last sentence is gone.) American writer Charles Horman disappeared during the 1973 coup in Chile, and efforts of his wife and father to find him were fruitless. They knew he had been vacationing at seaside Vina del Mar the day of the coup and there he had seen American military men, some of whom hinted at American involvement. (Many think the coup was planned from Vina del Mar.)

Most Americans arrested during the coup were released. But he was executed—something it took the American Embassy a small eternity to discover. (After dawdling for weeks over the revelation, it took the Embassy months to get the body home.) Chilean officials were unlikely to take such a step on their own. Did American officials authorize his death? The Horman family thinks so, but a lawsuit has been dropped because crucial information was declared off-limits "for reasons of state."

Costa-Gavras unrolls this story from the Horman family's point of view. (He got the material from Thomas Hauser's 1978 book *The Execution of Charles Horman*; the screenplay was then writ-

ten by him and Donald Stewart, with uncredited work as well by left novelist John Nichols.) His angle on the material is sharp. The story is not an indictment of American involvement in the destruction of "Allende's Chile," but a tale of a middle-aged, upper-middle class businessman's gradual acceptance of his son, as well as his growing mistrust of his own government. Costa-Gavras in fact exaggerated the businessman's naivete—in real life Ed Horman had his suspicions before leaving the U.S.—in order to heighten the drama of discovery, grief, anger and action.

Jack Lemmon plays Horman to slumped-shouldered, briefcase-slinging perfection. Stubborn and often prissy, he is finally courageous. Two agents act on his character: his daughter-in-law (Sissy Spacek), who grows and changes with him, spinning tenuous bonds across the then-immense generational gap; and American foreign service officials, who remain obdurate and devious.

Costa-Gavras steered deliberately away from political and historical specifics. There is no direct reference in the film, for instance, to Chile (although there is to Santiago, Vina del Mar and other places). He wanted (see interview, sidebar) to tell a story both personal and universal.

As a result the political trigger for the Horman agony remains something of a cipher. Few particulars are given for the coup or for American involvement in it. There are clues, for those who know the story already—for instance, repeated references to the importance of a truckers' strike just before the coup. But the stakes and the issues—nationalization of major industries, movements for grassroots democracy, bitter quarrels of left parties with the government, pressure by American investors (especially copper companies' demands that American taxpayers reimburse them for grossly inflated estimates of their losses through nationalization)—aren't in this story. Neither is the emotional world of that time and place—the sudden sunburst of

Why Become a South End Press Member? Because for \$20.00...

THE REAL TERROR NETWORK

Edward S. Herman

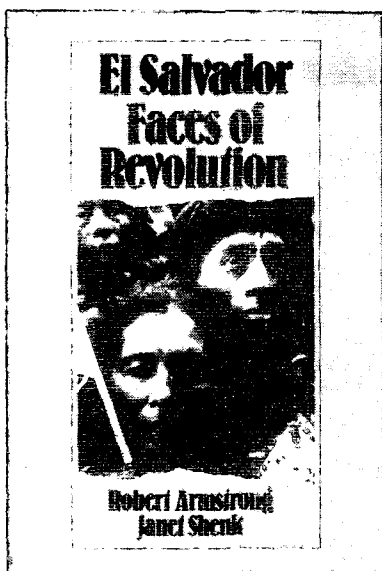
The Real Terror Network continues the work of Herman's earlier two volume classic, *The Political Economy of Human Rights*, co-authored with Noam Chomsky. This new volume is a well-documented and scathing analysis of the right-wing propaganda barrage about an "international terrorist conspiracy."

The infamous White Paper on El Salvador, Claire Streling's best-selling book, *The Terrorist Network*, and U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's "Dictatorships and Double Standards" are all scrutinized and found to be lacking in both logic and veracity.

Having exploded the "red terrorist" myth Herman takes the reader on a shocking tour of the real terror network. In a global sweep he documents the state-sanctioned bloodbaths and terror campaigns of U.S. supported dictatorships. Finally, Herman examines the failure of the mass media to analyze the Orwellian contradictions in Reagan's "anti-terrorism" campaign, and explains the sources of the systematic biases in the information available to the U.S. public.

Edward S. Herman is professor of finance at the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania. In addition to *The Political Economy of Human Rights* he has just published the widely acclaimed *Corporate Control, Corporate Power* with Cambridge University Press.

250 pp. \$7.50 pbk.



EL SALVADOR: THE FACE OF REVOLUTION

Robert Armstrong & Janet Shenk

El Salvador: The Face of Revolution digs behind the headlines and State Department White Papers to uncover the spirit and the reality of El Salvador's revolution. For the first time, its protagonists are given names, faces, and historical depth.

Armstrong and Shenk bring the activities of right-wing death squads, peasant revolutionaries, and labor insurgents into sharp focus. Current notions of a war between the extreme left and right are examined in the light of the role of the Catholic Church, political parties, and El Salvador's grassroots organizations.

The Face of Revolution situates El Salvador in its regional context and measures the relations between El Salvador's civil war, the revolution in Nicaragua, and the growing unrest in Guatemala. The history of U.S. involvement in El Salvador is exposed and documented and the extent of U.S. military aid and private investment is detailed. This book is a must for activists and all concerned citizens.

Robert Armstrong is a staff member at the North American Congress on Latin America in New York City and has written extensively on El Salvador and Central America for NACLA's *Report on the Americas* and *The Guardian*.

Janet Shenk joined the NACLA staff in 1975. She received a Fulbright fellowship for study in Ecuador in 1971 and worked until 1975 as consultant to the Economic Planning Ministry.

260 pp. \$7.50

NEW RELEASES

STANISLAW STARSKI CLASS STRUGGLE IN CLASSLESS POLAND



CLASS STRUGGLE IN CLASSLESS POLAND

Stanislaw Starski

The author, an active member of Solidarity and a veteran of the 1968 Polish student movement, takes the reader beyond the clichéd reports of Western journalists into the heart of "Workers'" Poland. His detailed, vivid picture of the August 1980 strike and the events that followed sweeps from factory floor insurgency to high-level negotiations between Solidarity and the Polish government. The present crisis is given a further dimension by a concise overview of Polish history, including the role of nationalism and catholicism in shaping the consciousness of the working class, and the responses of intellectuals to the disparity between Marxist ideology and political and economic reality.

The text includes photographs never before published in the West that capture both the drudgery of everyday life and the spirit of collective action.

Stanislaw Starski is the pen name of a Polish sociologist and political activists. As an official of the Solidarity chapter in his research institution he writes for the movement's periodicals and underground publications.

250 pp. \$7.50 pbk.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE U.S. ECONOMY A Popular Guide For The Rest Of Us

The Institute for Labor Education

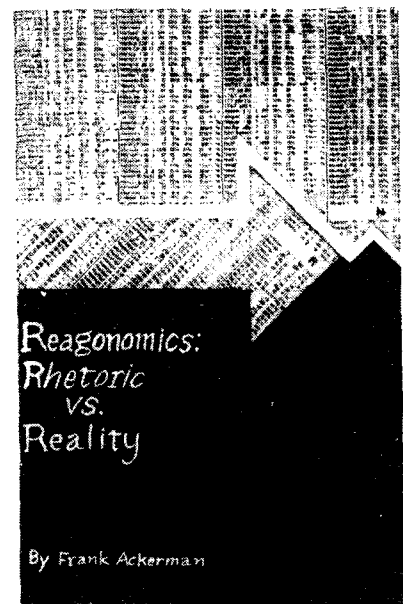
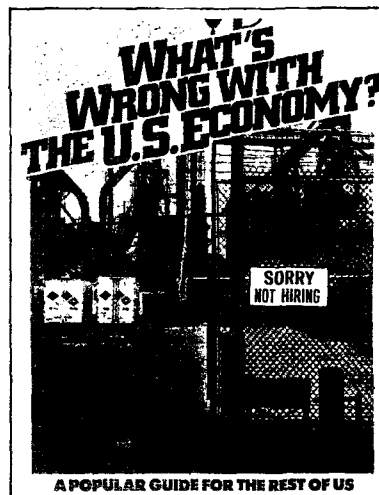
At last! A book about the economy that you don't need a PhD to understand and enjoy. *What's Wrong With the U.S. Economy* is a straight-talking and comprehensive guide to the U.S. economy that cuts through all the jargon.

Can runaway inflation and unemployment be controlled? Do high profits and steady growth really make us all better off? Is "economic freedom" worth the price? These and many other questions are addressed with wit, careful documentation, and insight, letting us see through many corporate, government and media myths about how our economy works.

This book grew out of six years experience of the Institute for Labor Education and Research, both teaching about the economy with union members and creating pamphlets, slideshows and other materials for labor education. The result is an analysis enriched by the insights and experiences of thousands of working people.

350 pp.

\$10.00 pbk.



REAGANOMICS: Rhetoric vs. Reality

Frank Ackerman

Frank Ackerman's hard-hitting foray into the latest outpost of the dismal science provides an accessible analysis of Reaganomics and the current economic crisis. He begins by laying bare the historical underpinnings of the crisis and proceeds to dissect the two principle works of neo-conservative economics, Milton and Rose Friedman's *Free to Choose* and George Gilder's *Wealth and Poverty*. In successive chapters Ackerman weighs the social, political and economic impact of the major components of Reagan's program: regressive tax cuts, the burgeoning military budget, social service cuts, the attack on organized labor, and the deregulation of industry. He ends with suggestions for alternative approaches to solving our economic problems.

Frank Ackerman is currently an editor of *Dollars and Sense*, a monthly magazine of economic affairs.

200 pp.

\$7.50



THE LAST ENTREPRENEURS

Robert Goodman

Widely acclaimed as a provocative contribution to the debate on regional economic conflict, *The Last Entrepreneurs* describes the deadly-serious competition between our local and state governments for migrating business. The product they are selling is not merely climate or regional culture, but an ever-expanding package of tax breaks, subsidized job training, public financing, and an anti-labor, anti-environmental control climate. At stake in this competition are our jobs, our unions, our environment—the very economic survival of our towns, counties, and entire regions of this country.

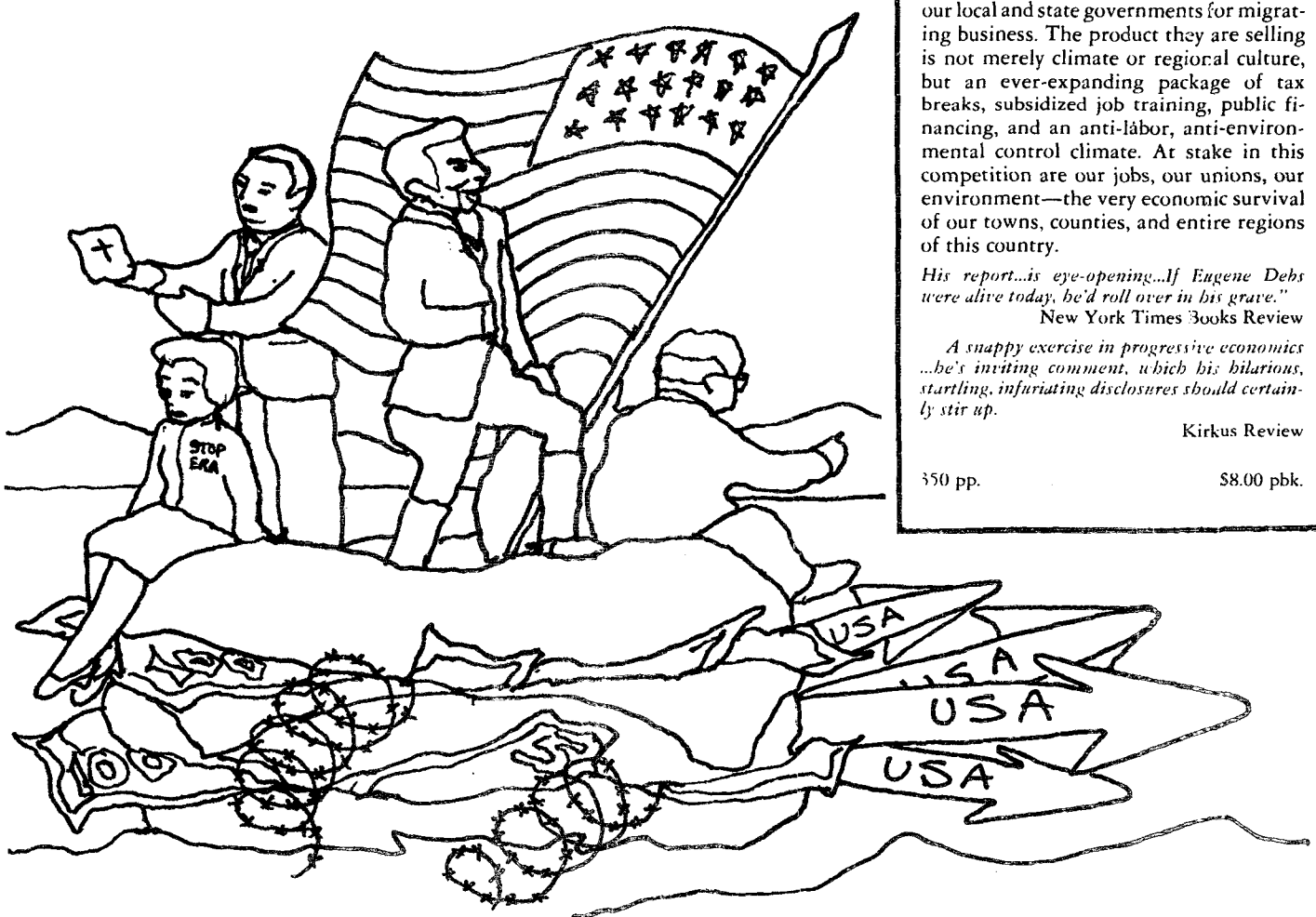
His report...is eye-opening...If Eugene Debs were alive today, he'd roll over in his grave."
New York Times Books Review

A snappy exercise in progressive economics...be's inviting comment, which his bilious, startling, infuriating disclosures should certainly stir up.

Kirkus Review

350 pp.

\$8.00 pbk.



... YOU GET 2 FREE 40% DISCOUNT ON

"THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS MORE DANGEROUS THAN THE ATOMIC BOMB"

WOMEN & REVOLUTION A Discussion of the Unhappy Marriage of Marxism & Feminism edited by Lydia Sargent

Thirteen women discuss Heidi Hartmann's essay "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism" in an attempt to expand on current feminist theory and practice. At a time when the right of women to abortion is being challenged and the women's movement in splintered, this collection of essays explores whether a fertile union of feminism and marxism can help women face the economic and social struggles that lie ahead. Reflecting the gamut of feminist viewpoints, this volume should become a standard sourcebook for debate and strategy.

—Publishers Weekly
400 pp. \$6.50 pbk.

THE CURIOUS COURTSHIP OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM Batya Weinbaum

A theoretical guide to the shortcomings of marxism and the pitfalls of socialism for the feminist movement. The theoretical solution (kinship categories) that emerges utilizes the class struggle of marxism, the generational struggle of Freud, and the struggle between the sexes of radical feminism.

170 pp. \$7.00 pbk.

AIN'T I A WOMAN black women and feminism



AIN'T I A WOMAN Black Women & Feminism bell hooks

This landmark work of history and theory challenges every accepted notion about the nature of Black women's reality and delves once again into the debate about Black macho. Hooks refutes the claim that Black women are not victims of sexist oppression nor in need of an autonomous women's movement. Her book pushes feminist dialogue to new limits with her claim that all progressive struggles have significance only when they take place within a broadly defined feminist struggle which takes as its starting point that race, class and sex are immutable facts of human existence.

220 pp. \$7.00 pbk.

"A PLACE FOR EVERYONE AND EVERYONE IN THEIR PLACE."

CHAIN OF CHANGE Struggles for Black Community Economic Economic Development Mel King

A Boston mayoral candidate, King surveys the total picture of Black life in Boston and the forces of racism and liberation. He draws lessons from the past to propose a strategy for community controlled economic development and political representation relevant to anyone concerned with the future development of our cities. Chain of Change is a powerful tool for community activists around the country. Mel King's analysis of the Black community in Boston is invaluable and should be studied carefully.

—Angela Y. Davis
300 pp. \$6.50 pbk.

INDIGNANT HEART



INDIGNANT HEART A Black Worker's Journal Charles Denby

This book is Denby's personal history from the early part of the 20th century to the present day. The main themes that emerge from his description of oppression in the South and the racism in the auto factories of the North are his belief in the power of self-initiated direct action and of the human spirit to endure and resist. As literature, as historical document, and as political statement, Indignant Heart is a classic.

—Jeremy Brecher
300 pp. \$7.50 pbk.

FROM THE GRASSROOTS Manning Marable

A book about the prospects of creating a new Black common sense for liberation in the years to come. A grassroots strategy for liberation that can achieve popular support must combine an economic critique with a Black nationalist appreciation for the cultural autonomy and tradition of Blacks.

228 pp. \$5.50
Four longtime activists discuss the difficulties of creating a forward looking movement for social change in the U.S. and begin formulating a new philosophy for a second U.S. revolution.
299 pp. \$4.80 pbk.

CONVERSATIONS IN MAINE: Exploring Our Nation's Future James & Grace Lee Boggs Freddy & Lyman Paine

Four longtime activists discuss the difficulties of creating a forward looking movement for social change in the U.S. and begin formulating a new philosophy for a second U.S. revolution.

299 pp. \$4.80 pbk.



"LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT"



EDUCATION FOR A PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT David Reed

This book provides an educational method for working people, people of color, and women which can help them to understand their society, overcome their oppression and gain control over their lives. This democratic educational method, called social pedagogy, challenges both the repressive education offered by the dominant society and dogmatic forms of political education. This book provides organizers with tools for examining the forms and sources of oppression in our society while teaching the skills and critical consciousness necessary to construct a truly democratic social order.

300 pp. \$7.50 pbk.

THEY SHOULD HAVE SERVED THAT CUP OF COFFEE

edited by Dick Cluster

A collection of essays from people involved in the major movements of the 60s: the civil rights, student, anti-war, black power, women's and GI movements.

370 pp. \$5.50 pbk.

THE AMERICAN FUTURE: New Visions Beyond Old Frontiers Tom Hayden

An analysis of contemporary political and economic problems and a proposal for programmatic remedies. The focus is on the failure of liberal and conservative programs alike and the need for economic democracy.

280 pp. \$6.00 pbk.

"WE (AND BY WE I MEAN YOU) MUST MAKE SACRIFICES".....

COMMON SENSE for hard times

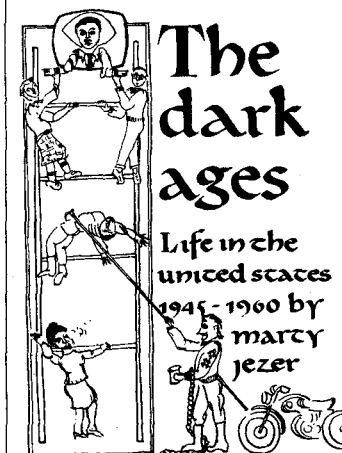


Jeremy Brecher & Tim Costello

COMMON SENSE FOR HARD TIMES Jeremy Brecher & Tim Costello

A timely book that takes a look at inflation, unemployment, environmental decay, work, the working class, and daily life and argues strongly for understanding not only why and how people "cope" but also the absolute necessity for mass action to oppose current economic trends.

277 pp. \$7.00 pbk.



THE DARK AGES Life in the U.S. 1945-1960 Marty Jezer

In an engaging and popularly written history, the author focuses his attention on the 15 years after World War II because this period provides the key to our understanding of present economic, social, and political realities. During this time, foreign policies such as the Cold War and consolidation of U.S. influence abroad, and domestic policies concerning housing, energy, land use, urban affairs and rural life, as well as the repression of dissent were implemented that continue to have far reaching effects. Dark Ages covers the economy, anti-radical crusades, customs, social mores, changing life patterns as well as the influence of TV, movies, and music.

350 pp. \$8.00 pbk.

THE CRISIS IN THE WORKING CLASS & Some Arguments for a New Labor Movement John McDermott

McDermott's purpose here is to unearth reasons for the labor movement's failure to enhance the well-being and the control of workers over their own lives, and to make proposals for positive change in the future. To this end he analyzes the history of labor struggles and organizations, U.S. class structure and dynamics, and positive visions for labor.

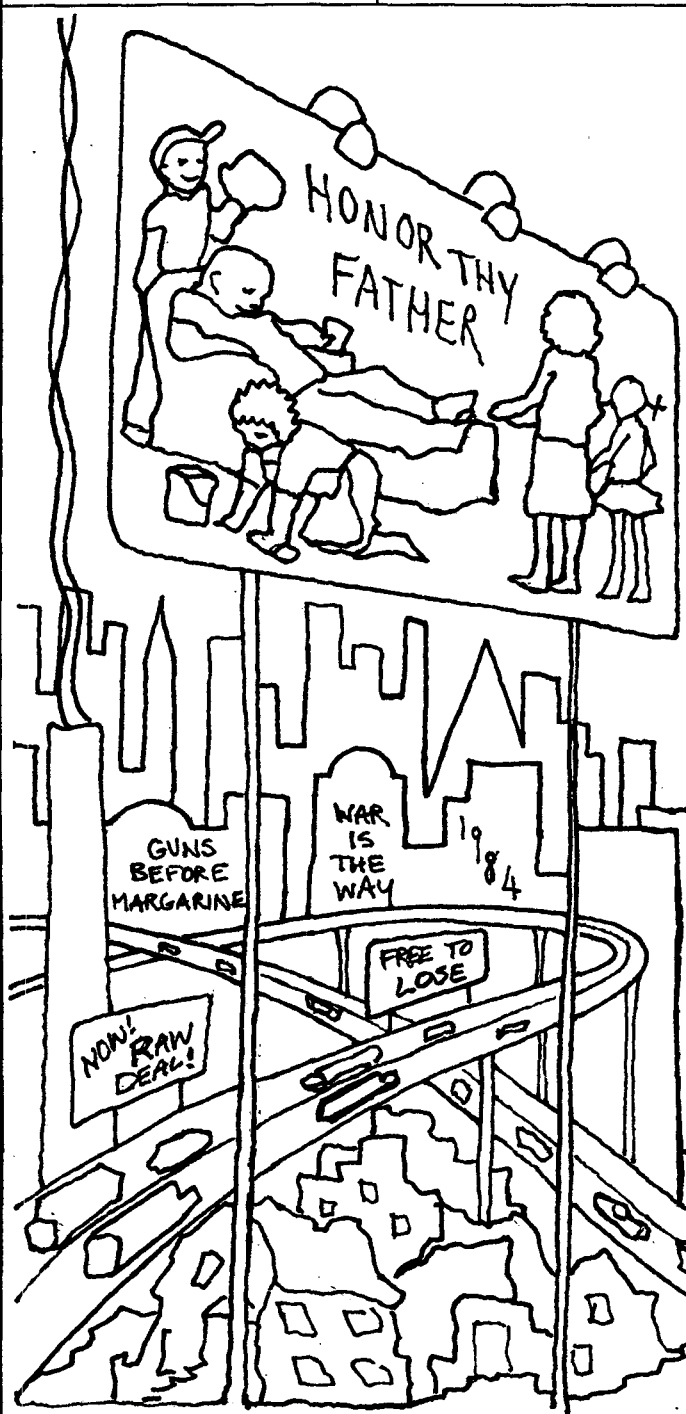
288 pp. \$6.00 pbk.

STRIKE!

Jeremy Brecher

A gripping account of U.S. labor as a social movement giving a far different picture from the usual high school and college history courses. Its major theme is the extraordinary extent to which ordinary people, acting on their own, have throughout the decades thought, planned, drawn lessons from their experiences, organized themselves, and taken action in common.

327 pp. \$6.50 pbk.



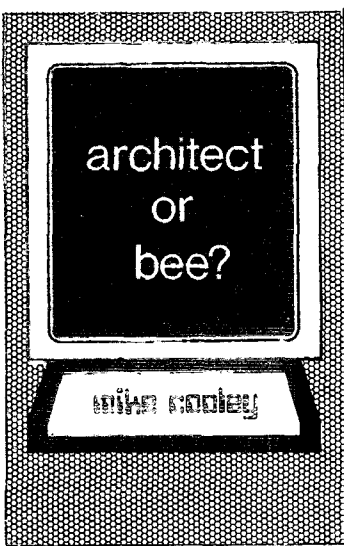
BOOKS PLUS A ALL OTHER TITLES



"AMERICA HAS BEEN THE BREAD BASKET OF THE



WORLD"

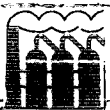


ARCHITECT OR BEE?
The Human/Technology
Relationship
Mike Cooley

Cooley shows how technologies are being designed to dehumanize intellectual work just as they have long been used to dehumanize manual labor. Included in his discussion of the intended and actual effects of new technologies is a concrete example of workers at Lucas Aerospace Complex in England and a look at the steps that must be taken to ensure humane and democratic control over technology. Includes an introduction by David Noble.
150 pp. \$7.00 pbk.

SCIENCE & LIBERATION
edited by Rita Arditti, Pat
Brennan & Steve Cavarak

This collection of essays deals with the role of science and scientists in the modern world. The central argument is that the training and research of scientists reflects capitalist values and serve to maintain the status quo.
398 pp. \$6.50



"WE STAND AGAINST
ENVIRONMENTAL REGULATIONS."

NO NUKES: everyone's
guide to nuclear power
Anna Gyorgy & friends

No Nukes was written to provide citizens with a comprehensive, demystifying and readable book on the many facts of nuclear power as well as to provide anti-nuke activists with a valuable resource and tool for their organizing and educating activities. No Nukes includes explanations of nuclear power plant operation, the fuel cycle, health and safety hazards, the economics and politics of nuclear power, a survey of alternative energy sources, and an overview of the national and international anti-nuke movement.
478 pp. \$10.00 pbk.

THE SUN BETRAYED
A Report on the Corporate
Seizure of U.S. Solar Energy
Development
Ray Reece

A book about the history of the collusion between federal and corporate energy executives against small-scale solar energy development.
234 pp. \$5.50 pbk.

CRACKS IN THE EMPIRE
State Politics in the
Vietnam War
Paul Joseph

This book is a comprehensive study of U.S. intervention in Vietnam with implications for El Salvador, southern Africa, and other possible areas of U.S. military action. Joseph's study doubles as a critical analysis of decision making during the Vietnam War and of how different groups manifested influence.

What Joseph has to say on the way policy is made goes well beyond the issue of Vietnam and is urgently needed now.
—Ralph Miliband

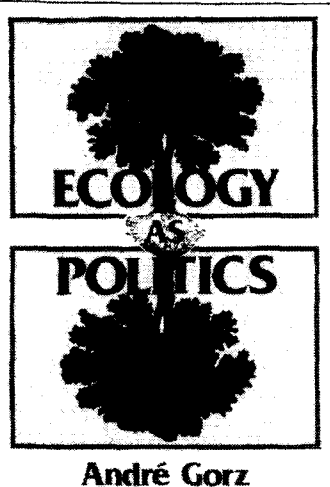
Joseph's account is finely drawn, fascinating and to my mind wholly convincing.
—In These Times

350 pp. \$7.00 pbk.

**U.S. IMPERIALISM: The
Spanish American War to
the Iranian Revolution**
Mansour Farhang

Mansour Farhang, former Iranian ambassador to the U.S. and leading adviser to ex-president Bani Sadr, presents in this work a historical analysis of U.S. international relations with Third World countries. An introduction by Richard Falk adds material on the current situation in Iran. *The imperialists of our time have succeeded in transforming the media of mass communication into an invading army to cover or mystify the destructiveness of their actions and intentions. Farhang has made a unique and daring contribution to the unmasking of this deception.*
—Abolhassan Bani-Sadr
former President of Iran

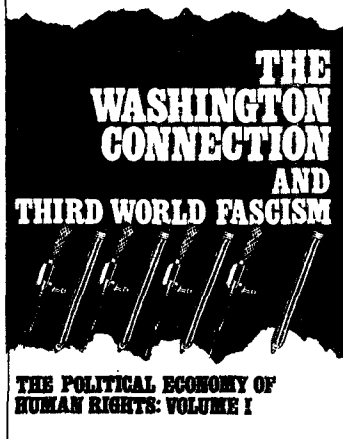
250 pp. \$7.00



ECOLOGY AS POLITICS
André Gorz

André Gorz's thesis is that the struggle for a better society must involve political and ecological dimensions, and these must be interlocking. Changing social relations, while maintaining the same destructive technology, will not yield substantial improvement. A change in our ecological attitudes and technology will be impossible without social change of institutions as well.
215 pp. \$5.50

**NOAM CHOMSKY
EDWARD S. HERMAN**



**THE WASHINGTON
CONNECTION & THIRD
WORLD FASCISM**
Noam Chomsky &
Edward Herman

...a brilliant, shattering, and convincing account of United States-backed suppression of political and human rights in the Third World.
—Gabriel Kolko

441 pp. \$7.50 pbk.

**WHO'S WHO IN THE
REAGAN
ADMINISTRATION: A 25
by 38 Inch Poster**
Holly Sklar &
Robert Lawrence

This informative poster features detailed profiles of top administrative officials and their government and party service, professional and corporate connections, education, and military service. It also contains sketches of the Kitchen cabinet, top congressional advisers, and a complete reference and glossary.

\$4.00

**AFTER THE
CATAclysm: Postwar
Indochina & the
Reconstruction of Imperial
Ideology**
Noam Chomsky &
Edward Herman

An examination of postwar Indochina and the history and lessons of the Vietnam War in order to dispel propaganda about the current situation as well as to promote an understanding of the problems facing the people of Indochina.
393 pp. \$7.50 pbk.

TRILATERALISM
The Trilateral Commission
& Elite Planning for
World Management
edited by Holly Sklar

A wide-ranging book that discusses every aspect of trilateralism and the Trilateral Commission, that demystifies national and international events, power, and policy making, as well as provides vast information and analysis for social change. The book argues strongly for the importance of understanding corporate strategies—strategies formed by those who see the world as their factory, farm, supermarket and playground.
650 pp. \$9.00 pbk.

**THE GREAT HEROIN
COUP: Drugs, Intelligence
& International Fascism**
Henrik Kruger

A book that probes into the netherworld of narcotics, espionage, and international terrorism. In so doing, Danish journalist Kruger uncovers alliances between the Mafia, right wing extremists, neo-Fascist OAS veterans in France, and Miami-based Cuban exiles.
250 pp. \$5.50 pbk.



"SEND 'EM BACK TO RUSSIA."



**SOCIALISM TODAY
AND TOMORROW**
Michael Albert &
Robin Hahnel

This book has two purposes: first, to evaluate post-capitalist experiences in Russia, China, and Cuba and current possibilities in Poland; and second, to present a socialist vision relevant to the U.S. Both historical and visionary discussions address kinship, political, economic and community relations, including Soviet political history, Cuba's *Poder Popular*, the Cultural Revolution, patriarchal trends ...and a new type of socialist participatory planning system for the future.
...presents a complex array of social theory in a thought-provoking manner accessible to the non-theorist.

—Herb Gintis
380 pp. \$7.00 pbk.

**UNORTHODOX
MARXISM**
Michael Albert &
Robin Hahnel

A critique of marxism and a presentation of an alternative theoretical approach better suited to understanding modern societies.
379 pp. \$7.00 pbk.

**MARXISM AND
SOCIALIST THEORY**
Michael Albert &
Robin Hahnel

This book formulates a theoretical perspective useful for analyzing "existing socialist" societies and for developing a vision of the type of socialist society we would like to create in the U.S. Other theories including orthodox marxism, feminism, and nationalism are assessed both generally and specifically regarding their application to socialism. A new approach is evolved whose unique character is its priority emphasis on economic, political, kinship, and cultural relations.
300 pp. \$7.00 pbk.

**SOCIAL AND SEXUAL
REVOLUTION: Essays on
Marx and Reich**
Bertell Ollman

These essays deal with the problem of class and class consciousness both as Marx meant the terms and as they can be most usefully employed in current theory and practice.
228 pp. \$5.50 pbk.

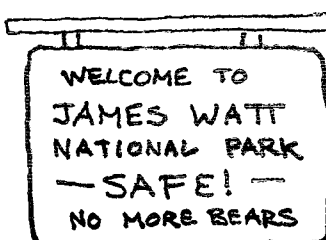
THE FRENCH NEW LEFT
An Intellectual History
from Sartre to Gorz



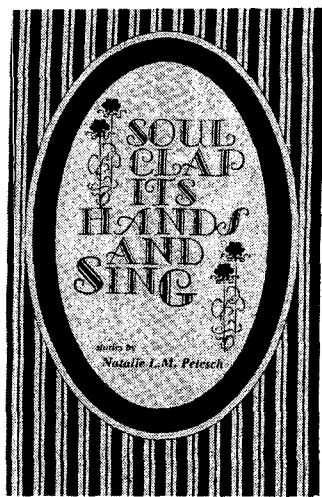
by Arthur Hirsch

**THE FRENCH NEW
LEFT: An Intellectual
History from Sartre to
Gorz**
Arthur Hirsch

This book examines the critiques of traditional marxism made by Jean Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Henri Lefebvre, and Cornelius Castoriadis in the period from 1945 to 1968. Hirsch demystifies those critiques and shows how they converge as a new left social theory whose main theme was an egalitarian solution to alienation and bureaucracy.
200 pp. \$7.00 pbk.



SOUTH END PRESS



SOUL CLAP ITS HANDS AND SING

stories by Natalie L.M. Petesch

A collection of 16 stories of extraordinarily broad social and political significance; stories of men and women wrenching joy, courage, and meaning from the austerity of their lives; stories of energetic, enthusiastic and often solitary Americans under seige.

The stories all make some sort of political or social statement yet transcend fictionalized politics...A moving and powerful collection.

—Publishers Weekly
Natalie Petesch is the author of four other works of fiction and is the recipient of the prestigious University of Iowa Letters Award for Short Fiction.

206 pp. \$6.50 pbk.

SLICE THE DREAMAKER'S THROAT

poems by Bill Thompson

A collection of poems by the late activist and writer, Bill Thompson, that speaks of the experience of being Black in America.

30 pp. pamphlet \$3.00

TALES I TELL MY MOTHER

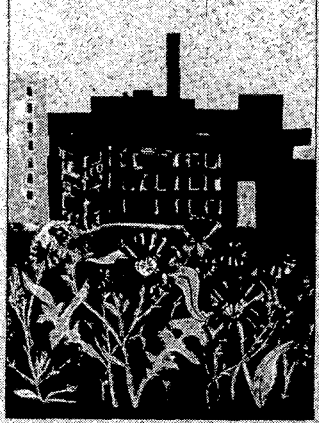
Zoe Fairbairns, Sara Maitland, Valarie Miner, Michele Roberts, & Micheline Wandor

An exciting collection of short stories by five feminists. The book treats issues ranging from the struggle against patriarchal relations and for reproductive freedom to the joys and tensions of lesbian relationships, from the personal consequences of political differences within the women's movement to the experiences of a feminist political prisoner. Each of the book's sections is preceded by a brief piece addressing questions of feminist sensibility, language, politics, and aesthetics.

162 pp. \$5.00 pbk.

LOUDCRACKS/SOFTHEARTS

poems by Jean Lozoraitis



LOUDCRACKS/SOFTHEARTS

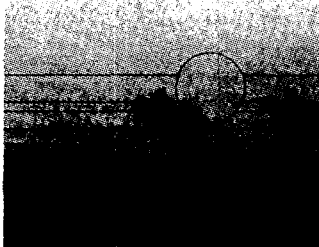
poems by Jean Lozoraitis

A collection of feminist poems about society, the media, relationships, street people, workers, kids, and fighting back.

84 pp. \$3.75 pbk.

Creative Differences

Profiles of Hollywood Dissidents



CREATIVE DIFFERENCES

Profiles of Hollywood Dissidents

David Talbot & Barbara Zheutlin

Through the lives of 16 people—actors, directors, writers, technicians, agents, and office workers—who work or have worked within the entertainment establishment this book explores the experience of working in a commercial environment which robs people of their spirit and integrity. Therefore, it is also a book about U.S. culture and how it charms and coerces people into sacrificing their ideals.

220 pp. \$7.00 pbk.

HAND OVER FIST

a novel by Henry H. Noyes

A novel of social conflict set in Chicago during the Korean conflict. It revolves around the conflict between Sicilian immigrants and Black ex-sharecroppers who have settled in Chicago's Northside in search of jobs, living and breathing space, and education for their kids.

323 pp. \$6.00 pbk.

I LOOKED OVER JORDAN And Other Stories

Ernie Brill

This book consists of eight short stories drawn from the author's experiences. The stories are about the unsung heroes of the hospital workforce—the people who soothe the terror, mop floors, make beds, wash bodies, hand deliver x-ray charts, change wounds. Their work is fascinating and monotonous, dirty, low-paid, and essential.

I Looked Over Jordan will be welcomed by readers who have searched the bookshelves in vain for worthwhile, strong writing about the people who live and labor inside hospitals.

—1199 News

291 pp. \$6.00 pbk.

THEATRE FOR THE 98%

Maxine Klein

This book argues for people's theater in a most inspirational way and then offers practical guides for how to do it. It provides ideology, history, scenarios, plays, training, and populist treatment of traditional plays as well as ways to create and maintain your own theater collective.

176 pp. \$4.50 pbk.

EXIT 13: Oppression & Racism in Academia

Monte Piliawsky

Exit 13 is an incisive, fully documented account of racism and academic repression in U.S. universities. It details the racism (and sexism) that permeates academia (through a case study of the University of Southern Mississippi) as well as describing the plight of faculty who challenge the authority of administrators, or who express radical ideas, of "troublesome" junior faculty who are dismissed for alleged "unbecoming professional conduct," and finally of college students who are equally disenfranchised.

Exit 13 rips through the curtain of obscurity surrounding the sinister history of one of Mississippi's largest universities. It gives a devastating account of the administration's incredible involvement in atrocities large and small, from plagiarism and petty harassment to racism and murder.

—Bob Hall, Southern Exposure

240 pp. \$7.50 pbk.

SCREW: A Guard's View of Bridgewater State Hospital

Tom Ryan with Bob Casey

A scathing indictment of the Massachusetts prison that gained notoriety in the controversial 1967 film documentary *Titticut Follies*. The book was constructed from notes that Ryan kept while working as a guard at the State Hospital for the Criminally Insane at Bridgewater from 1972-1975. In a blunt narrative style he describes a shocking world where the abuse and neglect of psychiatric patients is commonplace and acceptable.

200 pp. \$7.00 pbk.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF HEALTH

Lesley Doyal & Imogen Pennell

This book goes far beyond familiar questions about medical practice to address issues of the social production of health and illness themselves.

360 pp. \$6.50 pbk.

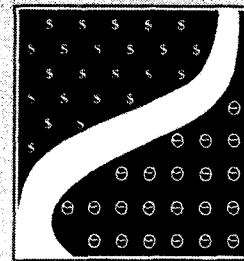
BA YE ZWA

Judy Seidman

Ba Ye Zwa weaves drawings, poems, folk songs, and newspaper articles into a vivid picture of apartheid in South Africa.

160 pp. \$4.50 pbk.

Statistics for Social Change



Lucy Horowitz & Lou Ferleger

STATISTICS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Lucy Horowitz & Lou Ferleger

A broadly accessible introduction to statistical techniques and their use and misuse in explaining everyday life situations. The topics covered include statistics and logic, percents and graphs, indicators, frequency distribution, sampling and opinion polls, graphs and illustrations.

300 pp. \$10.00 pbk.

CRITICAL TEACHING & EVERYDAY LIFE

Ira Shor

A book that offers classroom methods based on the liberatory theory of Paulo Freire using peer dialogue and critical scrutiny of everyday life (jobs, sex roles, and school) to help students develop conceptual skills and political awareness.

304 pp. \$6.00 pbk.

THE POLITICS OF EUROCOMMUNISM

Carl Boggs & David Plotke

A collection of essays giving a comprehensive account of the contemporary Eurocommunist movement, its context, aims, prospects and meaning for Europeans and Americans.

479 pp. \$6.50

BETWEEN LABOR AND CAPITAL

edited by Pat Walker

Ten essays debate class structure and class definitions in response to Barbara and John Ehrenreich's essay "The Professional and Managerial Class."

379 pp. \$6.50 pbk.

NOTES ON INDIA

Bob Bohm

Notes on India challenges the common Western view of India as a country of spiritual, poor, and fatalistic people incapable of launching a full-scale revolution that would put them in charge of their own lives. Besides countering distorted neo-colonial views of India, the author has an abiding commitment to present culture not as refined sensibility or as perceptions of life imposed from above, but in its everyday garb as folk wisdom, street poetry, and the daily rhythms of life as experienced by ordinary people.

220 pp. \$7.50 pbk.

U.S. MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

W. Mass Association of Concerned African Scholars

A series of essays of U.S. policy in Southern Africa—a policy which maintains white economic control through support of moderate Black leaders willing to preserve U.S. corporate involvement.

262 pp. \$5.00 pbk.



ORDER FORM

ONE-YEAR MEMBERSHIP

To become a member please send us \$20 and pick any two paperback titles for your free bonus. You are then entitled to order any other titles for one year at a 10% discount. Please help us on subsequent orders by adding \$1.00 for postage on the first book and 25¢ for each additional book.

INDIVIDUAL ORDERS

To order books without becoming a member send us the full price of the book and we'll pay postage. When ordering the poster add 85¢ postage for the first and 25¢ for each additional poster.

ALL ORDERS MUST BE PREPAID

NAME

ADDRESS

ZIP

TITLE

SUBTOTAL

DISCOUNT

TOTAL

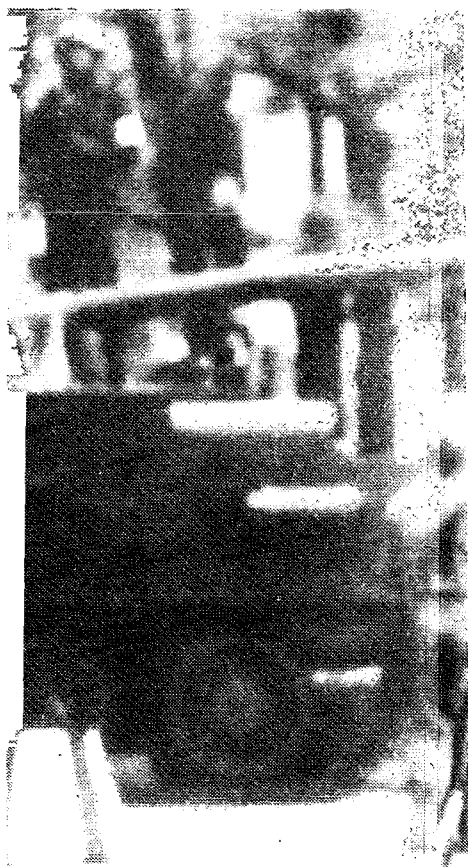
SOUTH
END
PRESS



302 Columbus Ave. Boston, MA 02116



His latest film, *Missing*—about the Chilean coup—makes the State Department nervous.



plays
ormman, the
who
ed during the
can coup.

Sissy Spacek and Jack
Lemmon as Momi and
Ed Horman react to
confronting bodies in
the Santiago Stadium.

hope for Chileans who had never dared to imagine a world where they could buy milk for their kids every single day; the crazy, wild idealism of first world foreigners, "socio-tourists," on holiday from Vietnam-era imperialism at home in a land where dreams of justice were coming true; the gamble, then deadly danger, then the smashing of more than lives.

It is true that this is Ed Horman's story, not Chile's and not Charles'. But Costa-Gavras has brought the close-up focus uncomfortably tight. The absence of historical specifics and especially of political antecedents to the coup undercuts the film's power to move us about his awakening.

What, for instance, does Horman come to realize about his son? That the boy was a sweet kid, basically, in love with love and well-intentioned. But what would have prompted him to take up residence in a country not his own still baffles us as much as Horman from the information the film gives, even by the time his body has been shipped home. The idealism that pervaded the epoch is said, but it's not seen or felt. That absence may also account for the limits within which Spacek's character is developed. She underplays the stridency of the moralistic young idealists of the time, and the baffling communication gap between middle class parents and children. She has to, given the dimensions of the script. The officials who "pout rhetoric about 'the American way of life'" at the end of the film sound strangely like Horman does at the beginning, although they come from different universes (Horman's is not only Upper East Side New York but also one pervaded by an intense belief in Christian Science).

It was a period in history that now seems, so few years later, alien—polarized and flamboyantly overstated, especially in those intergenerational conflicts that the film pivots on. Any explanation is less in the character of particular people than in the political atmosphere of



the time. This is a story where the background just won't stay background, even if many of the problems and issues—missing persons, third and first world divisions, American interventionism—persist. Today Ed Horman would come to a foreign country with a post-Watergate sense of American politics and a post-Vietnam sense of American foreign policy. He might not have a left perspective, but he would be deeply alienated from official rhetoric. And now his children would express their idealism in different ways than they did then—they would be less inclined to travel and when they did would have fewer members in that footloose cohort of socio-tourists.

Within this set-up, though, the actors perform admirably. Probably the least cramped by the role is Lemmon. Spacek fares least well, given too little chance to express her loss not only of a husband but of innocent hope and a way of life. Perhaps most accurately drawn are the military and bureaucrats, whose types have changed least over the years—especially the turgid and ominous military man Tower (Charles Cioffi), a heavy-breathing incarnation of perversity.

One of the film's achievements is its portrayal of the immediate context of the coup—bloody bodies in the streets, the constant sound of gunfire, helicopters circling over plazas, curfew impending on people who can't find a bus, a cab or a

doorway in which to hide. You're always seeing someone being hauled off or frisked out of the corner of your eye.

The film shows the immensity of the violence of those days, as the Hormans walk through hospital after hospital, morgue after morgue, embassies turned into refugee camps and dank underpassages in the Santiago stadium where bodies are stacked up. At one point a dwarf runs through a hospital corridor shouting, "Another one! Another one!" People flock to windows and you see a body floating down the nearby river. And you wonder how anybody could hope to track down a missing person under such circumstances.

The State Department is officially outraged at *Missing's* suggestions of American complicity in the coup and in the killing of an American. It issued a three-page statement claiming that it "undertook intensive and comprehensive efforts to locate Charles Horman from the moment it was learned he was missing," and it claims that eight years of investigation has shed no light on his disappearance.

Flora Lewis in the Sunday *New York Times* also objected to the film's slant. She wrote that Costa-Gavras "does not concede the distortion of art. In that way, he winds up distorting fact without even noticing it." She quoted denials of

Continued on page 22

Views of an eyewitness

By Paul Cantor

Santiago, Thursday, October 4, 1973. It was a cold gray morning. The soldier sat before a small wooden table, with a book of names. A line of quiet, shivering people stretched off to the soldier's right. To the soldier's left and across the street was the bomb-and-bullet-scarred presidential palace where, less than a month before, President Salvador Allende had been killed. Before the soldier and facing him from across the table stood an old woman.

"He was arrested," the soldier answered when the woman asked about one of the names in the book, "and then he was let go."

For the first time the woman looked straight at the soldier. He was in his early 20s and handsome. His wool lined khaki coat was left open despite the chill. His hair was as black as the boots he was wearing. Both his aspect and his manner were calm and reassuring.

"But if that is so where is he now?" she asked.

"How should I know?" the soldier replied. "Maybe in hiding."

"But where should I go to look for him?"

The old woman seemed transfixed by the hope that this man with a uniform, pleasant voice and easy smile had just held out to her.

"I don't know. It says here that he didn't have documents. Sometimes they kill people who don't have documents. Maybe he was stopped again after he was let out. Maybe you should check the list at the cemetery."

"The list at the cemetery," she repeated as she moved off, her eyes shining.

Behind the old woman was a Brazilian economist who was looking for his son, a professor of mathematics. He was followed by a young woman looking for her "companionero" and then a boy looking for his brother. But neither the economist's son nor the woman's companionero nor the boy's brother was on the soldier's list.

I was next in line. I handed the soldier a slip of paper with a name on it. "Charles Horman Azar."

"Where is he from?" the soldier asked.

"He is from the United States."

The soldier turned the pages of his book to the section where American citizens were listed. Charles Horman's name was not there. I hadn't expected it would be.

I expected Charly was dead. I also suspected that both Chilean and American officials knew he was dead but were hoping that the circumstances surrounding his death could be kept hidden for as long as possible. In the meantime his wife and father struggled to keep their hopes up and went on searching.

In *Missing*, Costa-Gavras recounts this search. More significant than this story or its dramatization, however, may be people's willingness to accept

Continued on page 22

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

ON CONTRADICTION, II

WHILE ADMITTING THE LEGITIMACY of the issues raised by Carol Dorf in her letter (*ITT*, Feb. 9), we take exception to her essential argument and divisive tone. Dorf writes that it is time to give a full discussion of the Church's contradictory role in the U.S. We agree, but we believe that this contradiction (the object of her attack) is actually an eminently positive development. Dorf states that the Church's contradiction is illustrated in the statement by the National Council of Catholic Bishops "that named antimilitarist, pro-social service and anti-abortion work as a single political program."

Do we not all remember a short 10 years ago when the Church took a reactionary stance on all three of these issues? What this "contradiction" illustrates is a profound leap to the left. On two of the three issues that Dorf points to, the Church has taken a progressive stance. Why dwell on the one issue (important as it surely is) with which we still have differences?

Why must certain people in the left persist in acting like Keepers of the Gate—insisting that anyone passing into the temple must have the purity of a vestal virgin? Some of us have learned, through the examples of Chile and Nicaragua, that the goal of the left has to be the unity of progressive forces, regardless of continuing differences.

In the U.S. the socialist left has been so marginalized that the unity we seek has to be with the vast majority of people, organizations, etc., not traditionally identified as left but who have tendencies in that direction.

If we are serious in our desire to end the exploitation of workers—the further oppression of women and minorities—then we must cease to act like dilettante revolutionaries and respect and accept other groups, even to the right of the Catholic Church, if they are willing to join us in particular struggles. We can only hope that through these struggles we will elevate each other's awareness and develop truly socialist consciousness.

—Marta Sandoval
Iliana Guillen
Northampton, Mass.

SOCIAL MINISTRY

IN THESE TIMES IS TO BE COMMENDED for its occasional coverage of developments in the Catholic Church. The growing conviction among Catholic leaders (lay, clerical and religious) that the Reagan administration represents a clear threat to Catholic social values is only the latest chapter in the recent resurgence of social ministry in the Church.

It is hard to say whether that rebirth will continue or how it will continue. However, people espousing a left agenda need to come to grips with the Catholic community. The Church is a complex social and cultural entity. It is not now, nor has it ever really been, a monolith, although it has often tried to appear as one. The debate over the meaning of the social teaching of the Church is carried out in a multitude of parish meeting rooms as lay people plan the social ministries of their parishes. Some parish response has been reaction to crises, as two irresponsible administrations thrust thousands of refugees upon local communities with little help in resources. Some parish social ministry has been broadened and deepened by institutional involvement in rural and

urban organizing efforts (often funded by the Catholic Campaign for Human Development). The rise of the pro-life movement among Catholics crystallized the value placed on human life by a long history of moral theology in such a way that such long ignored questions as the death penalty and nuclear war demanded equal attention. The women's religious communities have been the most responsible for initiating the continuing debate over the Church's assignment of roles to women.

The Catholic community is a pluralistic, quarrelsome lot of people who have the faith heritage and institutional strength to hammer out a response to imperialistic foreign policy and government abandonment of the common good. Secular progressives should welcome Catholics into coalition around the issues they have in common. Dwelling on real and significant differences could be a fatal flaw in our quest for a humane economy and politics.

—Ted Snyder
St. Paul, Minn.

BAD POLITICS

TWO LETTERS RESPONDING TO LAST December's articles on the Catholic left very badly missed the point of those reports.

David Wells (Jan. 20) notes that a priest quoted in my story on Catholic activism in the South was a "redbaiter" in the '40s and '50s. He was apparently upset that I didn't interrupt the narrative to chastize that priest by name. Carol Dorf (Feb. 3) criticizes the whole package of articles for failing to remind readers of the Catholic hierarchy's well-known anti-abortion activism.

Both writers are, of course, correct on the facts. As I explained at some length in my article, Catholic radicalism is a peculiar development inside a church that remains, in many respects, quite conservative. I also reported that anti-communism was a frequent feature of Catholic labor activism through the '50s.

But the writers make a major political mistake if they intend to suggest that *ITT* should not report on the Catholic left without dredging up and condemning each of the church's past and present political "sins." The premise seems to be that the church's "wrong" stance on abortion or other issues means that leftists shouldn't even talk about—let alone work with—Catholics whose religious beliefs motivate them to organize for peace, to support labor unions, or to fight for racial justice. Even if the Catholic Church were politically monolithic—which it isn't—such a sectarian stance would be foolish for a movement as small and isolated as this country's socialist left. It seems to me more sensible for socialists to pay attention to those currents in the Church (and other religious organizations) that support left goals, and to look for ways to enter dialogue on areas of disagreement.

The standard suggested by Wells and Dorf would produce tedious journalism, in addition to bad politics. Applied across the board it might mean, for example, sticking a note on the Machinists Union's racist past into every story about progressive stands taken by the IAM under the leadership of William Winpisinger; and reminding readers of the AFL-CIO's past links to the CIA, and continuing support for conservative foreign policies, whenever reporting on the labor federation's activism against

domestic budget cuts and regressive civil rights policies.

—Steve Askin
Washington, D.C.

CRIME

I WAS PLEASED TO SEE BILL BLUM'S fine summary and analysis of the criminal code bill before the Senate: S.1630 (*ITT*, Feb. 10). Leftists have been criticized by conservatives and liberals alike for not addressing the issue of crime. And this is probably true, largely, I believe, because of the difficulty of offering simple solutions to social conditions that foster crime. However, those in power, speaking through the Senate, advocate an increasingly popular sentiment toward revising criminal codes to preserve "law and order." This is their simple "solution" to crime.

Two points are to be made here: First, in addition to overall gross violations of constitutional freedoms of speech, assembly and press, the legislation is directed largely against *organized* expression. (e.g., anti-nuclear and anti-war activities). Crime here is synonymous with opposition to government or industry policy. These policies create their own crime, like crimes of unemployment and of racism. This is the kind of crime that debases our society and causes the anti-social, violent crimes the American people fall victim to.

Second, I don't believe the sponsors of Senate Bill 1630, from liberals like Kennedy to conservatives like Thurmond, really believe they can legislate away the street crime in America. For them, it's the simple solution to the large scale political consequences of Reaganomics.

—Jed Baumwell
Decatur, Ga.

CARICATURE

SMART AND THOUGHTFUL, MORRIS Dickstein (*ITT*, Feb. 17) is also one of several intellectuals who come unhinged on the subject of Herbert Marcuse and the Frankfurt School. Dickstein speaks of their "incalculably great impact on intellectuals at different points on the political spectrum," citing Rieff and Bell on the conservative end and "many young followers of Marcuse and Adorno" as well as Christopher Lasch on the left. Why doesn't Dickstein refer to the incalculably great stupidity of the far wider number of rejections of Marcuse, Adorno, *et al.*, by both right and left. Is it because focus on the small impact particularly on the

left of Marcuse and the Frankfurt School theorists would require a reappraisal of some of Dickstein's themes?

Dickstein provides the customary caricature of the analysis of "dialectic of enlightenment" developed by Adorno and Max Horkheimer. *ITT* readers might check out the book (1947) by that title. Dickstein doesn't like it when T.J. Lears sees only one side of Jane Addams, but he reads "dialectic of enlightenment" in the same flat way. The analysis behind both that title and Marcuse's writings raised a fundamental challenge that has yet to be dealt with, above all by Marxists: neither bourgeois nor Marxist theory comprehends the roots and dynamics of domination in the modern age, not least because both bourgeois and Marxist theory (and practice) share an uncritical affirmation of industrialization and its culture.

Dickstein, who has the habit of using masculine pronouns when referring to persons in general, considers the analysis of domination little more than "Central European hauteur," cultural conservatism, escapist pessimism. How, then, does he account for Marcuse's deep interest in Surrealism and Dada; or his *Essays on Liberation*, one of the two or three finest theoretical articulations of the 1960s rebellions; or Marcuse's feminism; the insistence in all his works including *One Dimensional Man* that freedom and socialism are unthinkable without advanced technology? Are these signs of despair, conservatism, neo-Puritanism? Obviously not. Like most of the left, Dickstein walks away from differentiated arguments about modernity. Similarly, he tosses off in a passing gesture Marcuse's and his friends' "hostility to mass culture."

But with what does this leave us? The idea that mass culture is good because it is mass? Is mass culture the culture of the masses or is it imposed from above or both? The analyses of what Adorno, Marcuse, and others called the culture industry opened a can of theoretical and political worms. Dickstein deals with this by shoving the lid down. I assume he did not compose the title of his review of Lears' book, "Seeking refuge from the engines of progress." But his review is anyway a good example, again typical on the left, of seeking refuge from the ravages of progress by ignoring them. In contrast, Marcuse's work is a good example of the differences between a critique of the modern world and either a blanket rejection or an unwitting embrace. Sadly, the chances are good that

Continued on page 16

CORRECTION

Because of a printer's error, the opening paragraphs of last issue's backpage feature "Disquiet on the Set" were difficult to read. Here, with our apologies to readers, is the hard-to-read portion:

By Pat Aufderheide

CHARLTON HESTON SAYS ED Asner forgets he's not really Lou Grant in his new role as president of the Screen Actors Guild.

Asner says he's too busy to play-act, just "avoiding the slings and arrows of outrageous Charlton."

And the SAG board of directors says—in a nearly unanimous vote of confidence last month—that Asner's doing the job they want.

Heston and other traditionalists in the union claim they see a dangerous politicizing trend in SAG. But these charges look to others like a politicizing act in themselves.

The incident that triggered the most media noise was one appropriate to the industry of image and illusion. SAG annually gives an award for "fostering the finest ideals in the acting profession." In November the awards committee—a group traditionally made up of less active and older members—offered it to Ronald Reagan. (Reagan, two-time president of SAG from 1947-52 and in 1960, presided over the

precedent-setting 1960 contract when actors reluctantly waived royalty rights for pre-1960 shows screened on TV. Ever since, management has raked in profits from that royalty-free airtime while actors like Laurel and Hardy couldn't collect a dime.)

When public information officer Kim Fellner discovered that Reagan—the man who had recently destroyed PATCO—was about to be honored by a union, she sent a warning letter to the board of directors, mentioning no names but indicating the "severe repercussions for the Guild, particularly their relations with other trade unions," as she said later.

Board members, a diverse group including ex-SAG president Bill Schallert, immediately grasped the irony. Many felt strongly that the award would be a "slap in the face" of labor—especially just after an actors' strike in which other unions had been generous in their support. Hotel and Restaurant Workers, for instance, had donated \$10,000; Longshoremen had found strikers jobs on the docks; the Orange County Federation of Labor members had walked on SAG picket lines.

Some board members envisioned an angry demonstration at their annual membership meeting—to which the award recipient is invited. Some even suggested they would walk off the stage if the award were granted. Finally by a ratio of 4:1 the board vetoed the award committee's decision—at the same time issuing \$5,000 for families of PATCO workers.

DIALOG

The family and defense of gay rights

The homosexual family member

By Ray Olson

JOHAN JUDIS PUT HIS FOOT IN it (*ITT*, Feb. 3) in refuting Kate Ellis' attack on Michael Lerner and Betty Friedman. Nevertheless, Judis is not the ogre *ITT* staff members (*Letters*, Feb. 17) seem to think he is.

He did, however, leave unanswered questions implicit in what he wrote: What is society's responsibility toward homosexuality, if any? Is such a responsibility different than making discrimination on the basis of sexual preference illegal?

Further, what special concern should society give homosexual members of families, especially homosexual minor family members? Might this special concern include an effort to reconcile families to their homosexual members, especially judicially estranged homosexual parents to their children?

Judis should be asked these questions rather than the paranoid, defensive ones Rinnert poses. As a divorced parent whose "response to the failure to achieve [my] own familial ideals" was to explore my homosexuality, I have a stake in both the defense of the family and the social validation of gay experience.

While sexuality has never been an issue between my child's mother and me, I sympathize with those women and men for whom it is and who, because it is, are prevented from nurturing, or even seeing, their children.

As a non-custodial parent, I'd deeply appreciate economic protection of my parental relationship through tax breaks for child support expenses. It is barbaric that our tax laws compound the shame and punitive tenor given the concept of child support by divorce proceedings. How many children might be better off and/or less grudgingly provided for if support-paying non-custodial parents got such a break?

Liberation and justice for gays

By Greg Calvert

JOHAN JUDIS' ATTACK ON GAY liberation as distinct from "gay rights" (which he claims to support) (*ITT*, Feb. 3) is appalling. Judis' position seems to be that while it "should be illegal to discriminate against individuals because of their sexual preferences," "society does not have the same responsibility toward homosexuality—whether as sexual behavior or as living arrangement—that it has toward the child-bearing family." What in the world is he talking about? Gay people pay taxes that support public education and a variety of other public contributions to child rearing (such as Aid to Dependent Children) without getting or asking for a *quid pro quo*. And while society does indeed provide "such measures as tax write-offs for dependents," it doesn't provide the same protection for the common property of gay couples as it gives to any marriage of heterosexuals that is sanctioned by church or state.

That is the actual situation. Is Judis going to argue that this represents justice? Or is justice no longer a concern of socialists? Gay people are asked to make

the same sacrifices as childless heterosexuals in supporting the children of heterosexuals who use the public schools. I have never argued that such things should be otherwise, although I generally believe the society as a whole could do better on birth control.

As for "the danger of ideology over politics," that is precisely the issue I was raising back in September: namely, that the ideology of familism was being used to subvert the politics of liberation. And I have the impression that Judis is doing the same thing. On this issue, it might be instructive to go back and read what Marx and Engels had to say about ideology and the family in *The German Ideology* in 1845-46. Their criticism was of an "idealized" conception of the family that did not take into account "its connection with the mode of production, which exists independently of the will of bourgeois society." And yet they also saw in the proletariat of that period where "the concept of the family does not exist at all" that "here and there family affection based on extremely real relations is certainly to be found." It is just such "real relations" of enduring affection that one finds here and there among gay couples who develop a "best friendship model" of relationship. I pointed to this in my September article as perhaps a contribution of the gay movement to a vision of liberation.

I think I did so in the same spirit as Marx and Engels: they were encouraged to see that when human beings are cut loose from the fetters of bourgeois relations they find real love and affection and form truly enduring relationships based on mutual respect and caring. Such relationships fly in the face of all the arguments that portray human beings as basically selfish and lacking in compassion in order to justify the rapacious greed of capitalist society and its repressive institutions. This evidence of spontaneous affection and real relations for motives other than material gain is cause for hope in a liberated future.

Herbert Marcuse once argued that perhaps the reason the homosexual taboo is so strong in advanced capitalist societies is that "homosexual relationships don't produce anything." Since the gravest danger to the maintenance of the capitalist order is that the working class might find out that it is increasingly involved in waste production which is contrary to its own best interests, one can see that homosexual relationships would threaten the "production ethos" of the society. But that only provides us with positive evidence for the subversive effect of gay liberation and relationships.

Herbert Marcuse remarked in *Eros and Civilization* that "enduring relationships" were a crucial test of the project of human liberation. I have always shared this concern and I believe it to be a matter of utmost importance for anyone who argues for a non-repressive society. The issue is quite simple: "Will human beings, freed of the constraints of repressive civilization, love each other in enduring ways, and not just exploit each other for temporary pleasure or gain?" The presence of enduring relationships among some gay people who have nothing to gain from straight society but its opprobrium is evidence that compassion and solidarity, love and mutual support, can blossom in human relationships despite all the ugly, vicious, hateful pressure that is brought to bear against them. ■

The public policy issue is gay rights

By John Judis

BEFORE RESPONDING TO the substantive points raised by letters in this and the previous issue, a comment on the form of the letter by Jim Rinnert, signed by 20 *In These Times* co-workers (Feb. 25). There is a place for petitions or manifestos (e.g., "free Lech Walesa," "Don't gut the food stamp program") but this controversy is not one of them. The questions Kate Ellis and I were addressing are complicated and should be the subject of reasoned or impassioned debate, not declarations signed by the *In These Times* 21.

As to substantive points, Rinnert played loose with what I said, putting into my mouth statements like "forming families is the only real significant contribution to society." I did overlook some problems in my position, which the letters by Ann Tattersal and Ray Olson helped me to discover, but I defy Rinnert or anyone else to come up with quotations that bear out his statement. Let me restate my position, with Tattersal and Olson's questions in mind, and ask that it be given a fair reading.

What did I mean when I said that the society must show a "special concern" for the family? I rested this apparently outrageous statement on several assumptions: first, it is the primary responsibility of a society to ensure its own perpetuation; second, in our society, children are the outcome of sexual union between men and women; third, in our current society, they are most likely to be raised by one or both biological parents; and fourth, with the choices currently available, it is generally preferable that they be so raised.

From these homely assumptions, special concern follows. It might consist of trying to cushion the blows of the business cycle and of '80s stagflation through child care centers, the reduction of the work week, and even a guaranteed annual income.

Does this mean that gays should not become parents through adoption? No, nor does it mean that as legal guardians or as single parents, the same special concern should not be shown to them. Does it mean that single mothers should be overlooked? If anything, they should be the object of even greater concern.

I may have unnecessarily provoked some of our readers by posing the heterosexual family against the typical gay relationship, which does not include raising children. I was responding, it should be recalled, to Greg Calvert (*ITT*, Sept. 30), who did pose one against the other in rejecting Lerner's "Friends of Families." I may also have mystified other readers by drawing a distinction between gay "rights" and gay "liberation" in explaining my own position. This distinction is not of my making, but is often used by gay liberationists to distinguish proponents of full civil liberties for gays from those who see in gay relationships a liberatory potential and a critique of heterosexual relations. I think that after reading Calvert's fair but murky response to me readers may have a better idea of this distinction.

I don't want to respond directly to Calvert's remarks for fear of getting us both over our heads. But I will say this: most of what passes for "liberatory visions"

of personal relations strikes me as either adolescent in character (abstracting out some necessary function of human society like child-rearing) or embodying in the form of utopia some nightmare aspect of capitalist society. (Shulamith Firestone's visions of utopian orphanages in *The Dialectic of Sex*.) Many of these visions tend to be nonsense or reactionary because they ignore or underestimate the relation any change in our personal lives must have to changes in the larger relations of production.

The basic reforms that a contemporary left can strive for are democratic rather than prescriptive: the extension of democracy to sexual relations. Over the long run, the left goal is to remove questions of morality and sexuality from the purview of government and permit them to be settled by voluntary association and personal discussion. This applies to the kind of issues raised by gay liberation.

A related point: at a recent forum in Chicago largely devoted to excoriating Lerner's Friends of Families, a representative of gay liberation cited the family as one of the enemies of gays. Many gays—and many bachelors, spinsters, adolescents, husbands and wives—have extremely mixed feelings about the family. But these feelings, however genuine, should not be the basis of rejecting the kinds of proposals associated with Lerner or others devoted to protecting families from some of capitalism's vicissitudes.

One final point: Rinnert says that my remarks made him realize that "our rights are threatened even from the left." I don't appreciate being made the messenger of bad tidings. But I would never argue that the left (unless one defines it to mean about 20,000 people) is free of the same beliefs about gays that are held by many on the right, although there are clear differences in proportion and degree. But I resent Rinnert and his cohorts casting people like myself, who oppose discrimination against gays, into the same camp as Midge Decter and George Gilder.

To turn this around, I would say a politics that imposes on the left either definitions of liberatory behavior or a theoretical disdain for the family, is highly sectarian and self-defeating, to say the least. It is, perhaps, also a shade totalitarian in its longer-range view of the relations between the private and the public. ■

The gut reaction to "family"

By Jim Rinnert

JUDIS' REPLY, THOUGH IT clarifies his position on the family issue, does not respond to my objections to his piece. I have no quarrel with Judis' suggestion that the family should be assisted by society in ways like tax write-offs for dependent children, education, family planning or day-care centers. I have no problem with this parents' shopping list; my argument is with the bias implicit in his statements about homosexuality.

First, the obvious: When the old bugaboo of "the family" is dressed up and trotted out, any gay within shouting distance is going to feel excluded or threatened or, at least, hypersensitive. "The family," as Ron Soble of Chicago Gay and Lesbian Socialists pointed out at a recent forum, ranks up there in the

Continued on the following page

Continued from previous page

"Big Four"—along with psychology, the church, and the law—as the historical oppressors of gay men and lesbians. Invoke "the family" in an otherwise polite discussion and all the gays in the room will move into formation and lock shields. It's an automatic reflex.

It has nothing to do with day-care centers or ADC or funding education. It has to do with the fact that thousands of gay men and women of every race and color are ostracized or distanced from their families—because of an overwhelming and unreasoning social bias—when they are discovered to be homosexual. It has to do with the trauma of confronting "the family" with the fact of one's nature and running the risk of being disowned. Or of being dragged off to see a psychiatrist who assures the parents that a "cure" is possible, or to see a priest who tries to save the young soul from a life of "sin." Or of having the parents blame themselves for their children's deviation and heap shame and guilt upon themselves.

Or of making the choice not to tell the family about the major significant detail of one's life and finding deceit and distance grow with the years. Or of having one's own children taken away when the marriage you've tried to conform to fails and homosexuality becomes the focal point of a custody case. The "family" has a wide variety of meanings to gays, most of them painful.

In a *Chicago Tribune* article earlier this month on a group called Parents & Friends, the mother of a gay man is quoted as saying, "Why couldn't it have been cancer—as least that doesn't have the stigma." John Boswell, in his breakthrough study *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality*, traces hostility toward gays to a general increase in intolerance of minority groups institutionalized in the 13th and 14th centuries, evidenced in such social phenomena as the Crusades against non-Christians and heretics, the expulsion of Jews from many areas of Europe, the rise of the Inquisition, witchhunts and a general effort by

the emerging corporate states of the High Middle Ages to enforce the standards of the majority.

Homosexuality is a constant in our species. It exists in every culture, in every race, and at a more or less constant proportion. It is society's tolerance or intolerance of it that varies. The task of political gays today—whether through struggle for gay rights or gay liberation—is to erase the historical, social, long institutionalized stigma attached to homosexuality.

In the immediate context—the left's recent efforts to reclaim "family" territory abandoned by the New Left in the '60s and formally appropriated by the New Right in the current Cold War—I am not opposed to reclaiming family ground, but I don't want to see it accomplished at the expense (however subtle, insidious or unintentional) of the rights or dignity of gay men and lesbians. ■

LETTERS

Continued from page 14

the left will continue to exercise its right to neglect those differences.

—Paul Breines
Cambridge, Mass.

HOOVER AND JEFFERSON

I FIND NO BASIC FAULT WITH JOHN Judis in his article "Why deficits now cause recessions" (*ITT*, Feb. 17). But he speaks of Hoover following a strategy "developed in the *laissez faire* boom days after the Civil War...." My understanding of *laissez faire* is based on my understanding of Jeffersonian democracy and the definition of *laissez faire* that: government shall neither aid nor hinder economic affairs.

The Republicans of the Civil War period and for 40 years after shattered *laissez faire* by giving every possible aid to railroad promoters, banking inter-

ests and manufacturers. That led to the era of the robber barons and the most shamefully corrupt era of American history. The aids and subsidies were given and maintained under the cultivated fiction that the country was still following *laissez faire* and that any attempt to stop the predatory interest was a violation of that sacred principle.

Elitism was Republican policy then, as it was in the 1920s under Harding, Coolidge, Hoover and under Reaganomics and with the same disregard for labor, the farmer, the underprivileged, the non-elite. Reagan is still promoting the illusion that his policies are *laissez faire*. They are not! These words are not written in defense of *laissez faire*, even though it did civilization a tremendous service in destroying the regulationism of 17th-century mercantilism. But John Stuart Mill some hundred years ago pointed out that after a century of trial, *laissez faire* was not the final answer. He asserted that people had to be protected by the government: regulation in the public interest of the corporate system.

—Richard D. Rowley
Ewen, Mich.

John Judis replies: In American history, "*laissez faire*" was originally used by the Jacksonian Democrats to argue against tariffs, federally-built canals, a national bank and federal relief during panics. After the Civil War, it was used to oppose government regulation or investment designed to protect the public against corporations and the business cycle. As an ideology, its use coexisted with practices that seemed to contradict its wider implications.

OFF BASE

DID IN THESE TIMES LOSE ALL SENSE of good journalism, or did you simply need an article to fill your back page when you published Jerome Karel and David Karen's "Color on the Court" (*ITT*, Feb. 10)? It is one of the worst pieces of journalism I have read in quite some time. I am surprised that

a newspaper of your caliber would print an article that is so unsound that the reader is left wondering just what it was the authors wished to prove.

First, it appears that they would like to show how the "whiteness" of certain NBA teams (Celtics) can lead to higher attendance. Where are the data to support this, certainly not in the article. (The authors constantly contradict their own findings by stating that the figures do not support their hypothesis. But who knows, maybe they go to basketball games to see the white players sitting on the bench.)

Second, is Larry Bird the only reason Boston fans now to go an NBA game?—or could it have something to do with their having one of the best teams in the league?

Certainly the NBA has its racial problems, but the authors do nothing to enlighten us on this subject—instead, they simply confuse a possibly interesting story with irrelevant information.

—Jeffrey Stern
Amsterdam, N.Y.

EXPANSION

SORRY TO HEAR ABOUT YOUR STRUGGLES for cash to keep on publishing your excellent newspaper. I am consistently impressed with the quality of your articles. They continue to broaden my knowledge and expand my sensitivity to struggles for justice and equality.

I've enclosed a check to cover a gift subscription for a dear friend. I figure the more people who read your paper, the faster the word about your value in this era of Reaganomics will spread.

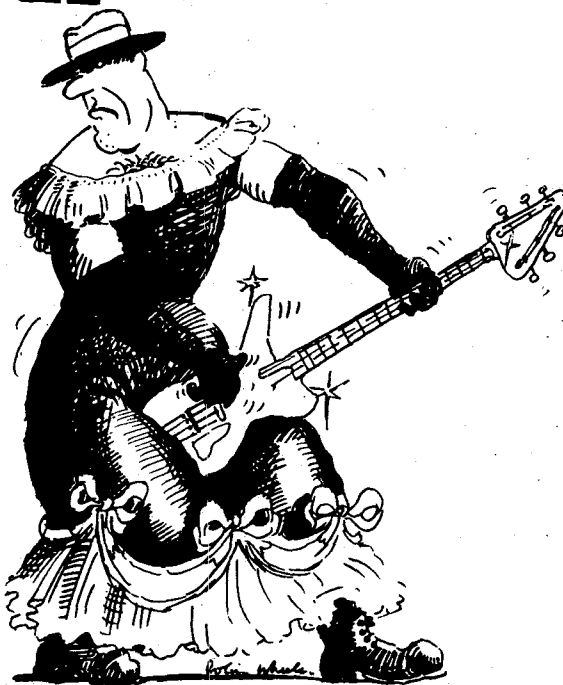
—Dianne Rhein
Independence, Wisc.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters less than 250 words long. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

THIS CONCERT IS A MATTER OF LIFE OR DEATH

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL PRESENTS:

STING
JEFF BECK
ERIC CLAPTON
BOB GELDOF
JOHNNY FINGERS
PHIL COLLINS
DONOVAN
THE
SECRET POLICE



THE CREAM OF BRITISH ROCK IN THE PERFORMANCE OF THEIR LIVES. FOR THE LIVES OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AROUND THE WORLD.

THE SECRET POLICEMAN'S BALL

PRODUCED BY MARTIN LEWIS

A PORTION OF THE ROYALTIES FROM THIS ALBUM GO TO AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL



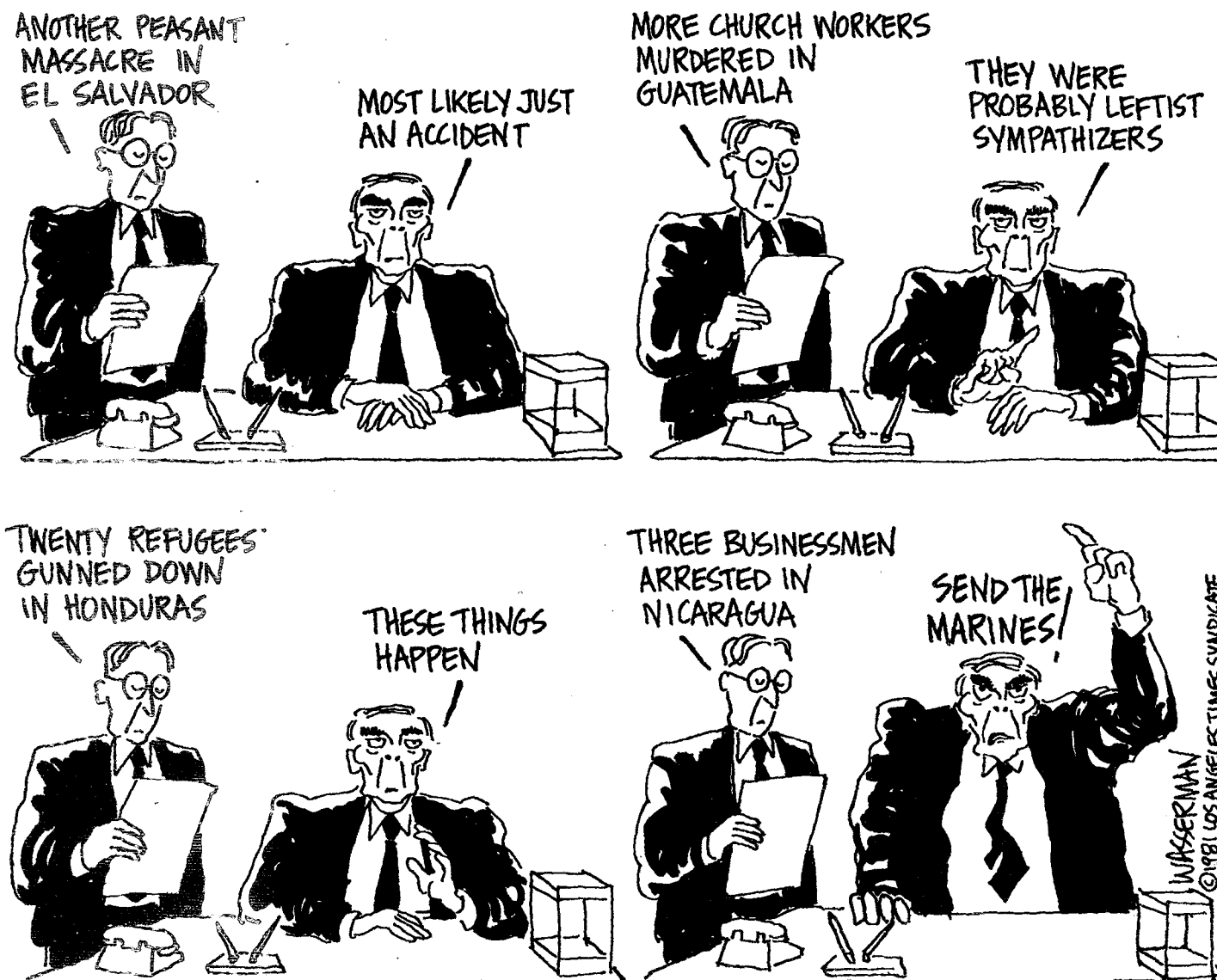
TM OWNED BY ANTILLES COMMUNICATIONS LTD.
USED UNDER LICENSE
ON ISLAND/SPRINGTIME RECORDS & TAPES

Amnesty
International

A SPRINGTIME PRODUCTION MANUFACTURED & DISTRIBUTED BY WARNER BROS. RECORDS INC.



PERSPECTIVES



U.S. at it again in Nicaragua

By Eldon Kenworthy

SOURCES LEAKING OUT OF the Reagan administration indicate a decision was made, perhaps in late October, to destabilize the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. On Feb. 14, the *Washington Post* detailed a plan in which Nicaraguan exiles, joined by agents and soldiers of "friendly governments," would carry out a range of paramilitary assaults on Nicaragua, with money and coordination supplied by the CIA. A previous Associated Press story identified Argentina's military junta as the friendly government most adept and willing to play this role. The Argentines have been supplying the Guatemalan government with weapons, the Salvadoran with money, and have been talking to high-level Reagan associates over past months.

The Reagan administration neither confirms nor denies these reports, and in his "major speech" on his plans for the Caribbean basin, President Reagan stuck mostly to the rosier topic of economic aid. But Secretary of State Alexander Haig recently hinted at a destabilization plan. Washington, he said, will "go to the source" of its troubles in Central America, using "whatever is necessary." The U.S. "tried to communicate," Haig told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Feb. 2, but the response was "greater internal repression, acceleration of arms buildups and a strengthening of links to the Soviet Union." In short, we are asked to believe that Nicaraguan intransigence forced a pacific U.S. administration reluctantly to adopt harsh measures.

Haig, of course, played a leading role in another Republican administration's destabilization of another left Latin American regime. I refer to the "Track II" strategy used against Salvador Allende by Richard Nixon. In Nicaragua, as in Chile, destabilization consists of a broad range of actions, no one of which upsets public opinion in the U.S. The

combination, however, can be deadly, causing "the economy to scream" and political coalitions to disintegrate.

Destabilization is particularly effective against small nations with mixed economies that are deeply in debt. Shutting off the flow of credits, for example, provokes an exchange crisis that leads to shortages and inflation. This in turn promotes internal discontent that opposition newspapers, fed "disinformation" by CIA operatives, fan. The very pluralism of these governments—their tolerance of opposition parties and press, their sharing the economy with private entrepreneurs, and the ease with which foreigners can come and go—makes them vulnerable to destabilization.

When the Sandinistas came to power, Nicaragua had the highest per capita foreign debt of any country in the world. Foreign governments and banks—mostly U.S.—had thrown money at Somoza in his waning years, and most of that money left Nicaragua with him. The Sandinistas honored those debts, since not to do so would preclude new external funding. In March 1981, the Reagan administration cut off most U.S. assistance, including funds for food already approved by Congress, and Washington pressured international lenders to follow suit. The Inter-American Development Bank, which loaned Nicaragua \$70 million in 1980, made \$8 million available in 1981, the smallest amount given any of its 21 recipients. Guatemala's share increased from \$77 to \$113 million.

Training destabilizers.

Another aspect of destabilization are the training camps for exile forces operating on U.S. soil. "Officially," a Justice Department spokesperson stated, "we're not aware of any military maneuvers taking place." But, unknown to the public, Reagan officials offered the Nicaraguan leaders a deal: cease support for the Salvadoran left and we will close the training camps. (Credit *Washington Post* reporter Don Oberdorfer for this revelation.) Since the Sandinistas have claimed for many months that they do not aid the

Salvadoran guerrillas—and Washington has not proved otherwise—they could not complete the deal. So the camps flourish. Those in charge of one told the *New York Times* that more than 100 of their graduates had infiltrated Nicaragua.

From the Nicaraguan point of view, there is nothing hypothetical about the revelations in the U.S. press that reveal this pattern of destabilization. Since the first of the year, 180 Nicaraguans have been killed by counter-revolutionaries striking from bases in Honduras. On Jan. 13 the Nicaraguan press reported a plot to blow up industrial installations in Managua. A member of Venezuela's military intelligence and a Nicaraguan dissident who recently had bought arms in Miami with \$50,000 given him by the Argentine army were caught red-handed (with sticks of dynamite and forged documents). The Nicaraguan, William Balto-dan Herrera, had just completed a tour that included discussions with Argentine generals, Cuban exiles, Nicaraguan dissidents in Honduras and Costa Rica and Thomas Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

Destabilization takes additional forms, including disinformation. U.S. embassy personnel in Managua are embarrassed by the wildly exaggerated numbers disseminated in Washington regarding Nicaraguan troops, Cuban advisers, Atlantic coast Indians "forcibly" relocated, etc.

Why Nicaragua? To plumb the administration's motives, one has to enter its perceptual world. At stake in Central America, Haig recently stated, is "confidence in the United States." This means that Washington feels its bargaining position in international forums is undermined by the perception that the U.S. can't rule its own backyard. Haig's "confidence" is Henry Kissinger's "credibility" reborn. In both, the point is Washington's concern with the Kremlin's perception of American willpower. Central Americans may pay the price for this display of will, but the exercise has little to do with conditions there.

Exercising willpower in relation to Cuba is risky, given Cuba's sophisticated

defenses and explicit links to the Soviet Union. In El Salvador, the Reagan administration is hampered by public and congressional memories of Vietnam and by its support of the Carter "solution" of an election. But Nicaragua is an inviting target. The charge that the Sandinistas are aiding the Salvadoran guerrillas shifts the onus of intervention from Washington to Managua. Were Washington to intervene in Nicaragua to stop its intervention in El Salvador, Washington's actions could be defended as defense of Salvadoran sovereignty. Thus Thomas Enders recent support for the Central American client states condemnation of "all types of intervention" in the internal affairs of the Central American countries."

The Vietnam syndrome.

Casting Nicaragua as the conduit for Soviet aid provides an explanation for the Salvadoran guerrillas' success—one other than popular support—and it transforms a small and weak country into a worthy object of a superpower's exercise of will. In one sense, Nicaragua is made to play Cambodia to El Salvador's Vietnam, providing the "sanctuaries" that account for the guerrillas' success. In another sense, Nicaragua is post-war Vietnam: the "proof" that revolutionary coalitions transform themselves into "totalitarian, militarized state[s]" (Haig's description of Nicaragua). If the public buys this malevolent concoction, it may also buy a pre-emptive strike by Washington. Henry Kissinger justified U.S. destabilization of the democratically-elected government of Allende in this way. In the name of democracy, Washington subverts a democracy to prevent it from becoming undemocratic.

Behind these administration manipulations of public opinion lies one cold fact. If Reagan and Haig are intent on military intervention in El Salvador, they won't pass up the opportunity to knock off the Sandinistas, too. So as the Salvadoran elections are downplayed in Washington—which now admits they will solve little—we can anticipate an agonizing reappraisal. The administration will either heed critics at home and allies abroad who urge a negotiated solution in El Salvador, or it will take a military path, in which case Nicaragua will not be exempt. The Sandinistas are leftists in power within the U.S. sphere of influence, but they are not as formidable as Cuba.

But unlike Track II in Chile, there are no U.S. allies within the Nicaraguan army. So while Reagan's destabilization scheme avoids the liability of using "American boys," it must rely on non-Nicaraguan troops and discredited Somocistas. Such a strategy only strengthens popular support for the Sandinistas, a support transformable into effective resistance since many Nicaraguans participated in armed struggle against Somoza only three years ago. Nor should Washington underestimate the effectiveness of Nicaraguan security forces led by veteran guerrilla commander Tomas Borge.

Destabilizing Nicaragua poses risks for Washington. If it fails, the Sandinistas will be more firmly in power than before. (Compare Fidel Castro's position in Cuba before and after the Bay of Pigs.) Already some of the most vocal criticism of Washington's bellicose posture comes from private sector and liberal Democratic leaders who see their credentials tarnished and their room for maneuver diminished by administration hostility. Backed into a corner, the Sandinistas may feel they have no option but to strengthen ties to Cuba and the Soviet Union. Thus destabilization could do what Haig's verbal alchemy has failed to accomplish: transform Nicaragua into "another Cuba."

Eldon Kenworthy is associate professor of Government at Cornell University. He visited Nicaragua in January with a group called Pueblo a Pueblo.

LIFE IN THE U.S.



Stephen Leberstein

The reunion of Rapp-Coudert investigation veterans drew in several generations.

Soviet Union in June 1941, making Russia a virtual ally, brought the Rapp-Coudert inquiry to a sudden halt. New York State Governor Herbert Lehman quietly vetoed further appropriations for the Rapp-Coudert committee.

But the impact of Rapp-Coudert was not so easily stilled. Rapp-Coudert research on "Communist Front" organizations resurfaced in the Attorney General's list of 1948. Informers and staff researchers for the Rapp-Coudert committee worked in the anti-Communist industry that sprang up during the Cold War. Robert Morris, assistant counsel to the Rapp-Coudert committee became chief attorney to the U.S. Senate's Internal Security Committee, which was a major force in the investigations of the "China hands," the trade unions and the universities in the '50s.

During the '60s, when the campuses became a center of opposition to the Vietnam war, Rapp-Coudert survivors felt vindicated. Most had left the Communist Party in the wake of Khrushchev's 1956 revelations. That the crimes of Stalin were no mere figments of capitalist propaganda, yet many continued to be active on the left. Some had staffed the Communist Party's Jefferson School in New York City; others became psychotherapists, went into publishing or entered industry. By the mid-'60s some had even found their way back into mainstream academic life. Philip Foner continued his amazingly productive academic career at Lincoln University; Morris Schappes taught ethnic studies at Queens college.

Schappes served as master of ceremonies at the CCNY vindication proceedings in December

HISTORY

Anti-communist purges on campuses recalled

By Marvin E. Gettleman

Just before Christmas, a nostalgic ceremony took place in the old president's office at the City College of New York, honoring former CCNY faculty, fired more than 40 years earlier for their leftist political beliefs.

The Rapp-Coudert investigation in 1940-41, and the purge of teachers and staff that followed, was a little-known antecedent of the anti-communist crusades of the next decade. Named for two New York State legislators, the inquiry targeted the municipal colleges of New York City—Hunter, Queens, Brooklyn College and CCNY, where large Communist Party units among faculty and staff complemented energetic student Young Communist Leagues. Especially when compared with academic Communist groups at other campuses, where Party obligations amounted to little more than attending study groups and contributing money to Spanish Loyalist defense funds and other left-wing causes, the New York college units undertook a dizzying array of political tasks. Mostly younger, untenured faculty, they were the most active members of the AFL-affiliated Teachers Union. They also worked in the college anti-fascist clubs. City-wide responsibilities included selling *Daily Workers*, usually at an off-campus site, and interminable Party meetings. They wrote monthly "shop papers," slipped into staff mailboxes between 1935 and 1938 at CCNY (*The Teacher-Worker*) and Brooklyn College (*The Staff*). These papers carried general commentary reflecting the Communist Party's "united front" line as well as local college news, including often-scurrilous attacks on right-wing faculty and

administrators. The young leftists also taught 16 classroom hours a week, and many were completing graduate study and writing dissertations.

It was only a matter of time before these knots of academic Communists on the public payroll came under scrutiny. The Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939, weakening liberal tolerance for the Reds, provided the occasion for the assault and subsequent purges. Beginning in winter 1940, the Rapp-Coudert subcommittee on subversion in the New York City schools opened hearings on CCNY, and early the next year turned to Brooklyn College. For almost four months the investigation was front-page news in all the metropolitan dailies. Informers came forward at CCNY to name names more eagerly than they did at Brooklyn, where only one English professor testified openly against his former comrades.

Dangerous denials.

The accused Communists all denied Party affiliation at first, although one of the CCNY group, English instructor Morris Schappes, later admitted he had been a Communist, thereby opening himself up to eventual perjury conviction. The Rapp-Coudert committee operated on the self-imposed rule (derived from the treason provision in the U.S. Constitution) that two witnesses must testify to the "crime" of Communism. Since Brooklyn College had only one public informer, only those Brooklyn faculty prominent enough in citywide Communist Party activity to have been spotted by someone at CCNY were slated for immediate dismissal. Philosopher Howard Selsam and historian Herbert Morais were fired from the Flatbush Avenue campus. With its half-dozen informers, CCNY could more thoroughly be cleaned out; more than 40 facul-

ty and staff were fired, including the college registrar, John Kenneth Ackley, and twin historians Philip and Jack Foner.

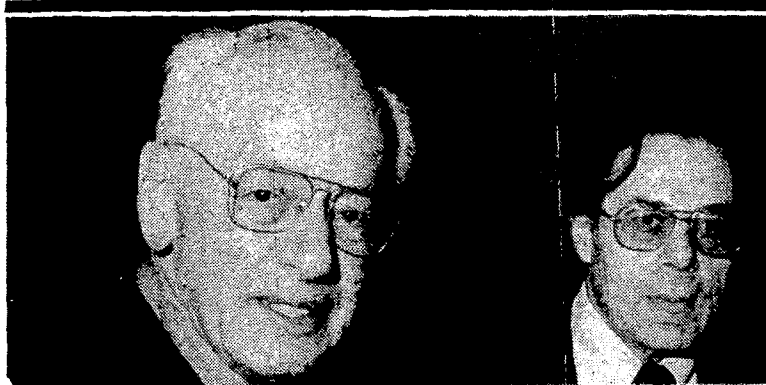
Although it could subpoena and threaten witnesses—and even their counsel—with contempt proceedings, the Rapp-Coudert committee could not fire anyone. This had to be done by the colleges. In what became a characteristic pattern in the McCarthy period, the investigating agency turned over its files to the

Windels. "There is no freedom in this country to poison the rising generation in the name of any political philosophy [which] practices hypocrisy and deception as part of its central and vital doctrine."

The anonymously-published campus shop papers reinforced the image of these academic Communists as secretive conspirators, and became a major ingredient of the doctrine that New York University professor Sidney Hook was developing about the hospitality of the university to "heretics," but its repugnance to "conspirators."

After 16 months of intensive inquiry "not one teacher admitted being in the [Communist] Party when he testified" to the Rapp-Coudert committee. This was "the most important single fact" developed by the inquiry according to its own published

The investigation's conspiracy charges were fueled by the secretiveness of leftist teachers.



Rapp-Coudert veterans Sidney Eisenberger, Moe Foner and Maxwell Weisman.

employer, who usually promptly fired the accused leftist.

No convincing data was ever presented either to the Rapp-Coudert committee, or to the Board of Higher Education investigatory panels, that the accused faculty or staff were using their positions to indoctrinate students or to recruit them into the Communist Party. (Some of the faculty Communists were in fact recruited by their students.) Denial of Communist links before a duly constituted State committee became seen as an indication of conspiratorial secretiveness.

"There is no liberty to commit a breach of trust," declared Rapp-Coudert counsel Paul

reports. On the basis of this evidence, the Rapp-Coudert committee considered its cleansing of CCNY to have been salutary. The paucity of pliable witnesses at Brooklyn College stymied the purge there. A number of faculty Reds remained on campus until the '50s, when they were swept away in the high tide of McCarthyism.

After effects.

The Rapp-Coudert committee was on the verge of turning its investigative attention to student radicalism and broadening the inquiry to other campuses when international events intervened. The Nazi invasion of the

1981. Rapp-Coudert alumni, or their widows, and in some cases their children and grandchildren were present. Each came forward to speak a few words, some of bitterness, others of hope for a renewed radicalism in the present.

Newly-inaugurated City College president Bernard Harleston spoke strongly against violation of academic freedom and pledged that CCNY would not countenance such politically inspired purges as the Rapp-Coudert committee committed in the '40s.

It was a sentimental meeting, and no one could quite bring himself or herself to say what was on the minds of many: that the U.S. has not yet come to terms with its own Reds, nor have the Reds discovered a creative oppositional role in capitalist, imperial America.

Marvin E. Gettleman, a member of the New American Movement, teaches history at the Polytechnic Institute of New York. His most recent book, co-edited with Pat Laceyfield, Lou Menashe, David Mermelstein and Ron Radosh, is *El Salvador: Central America in the New Cold War* (Grove Press).

Stephen Leberstein

INPRINT

FICTION

A modern woman's life seen at dawn

Waking
By Eva Figes
Pantheon, 91 pp., \$7.95

By John Berger

There is a Russian saying that says of someone that he or she "looks life in the eyes." This means that they do not flinch and that they look at what happens without the colored filters of theory. Yet such an approach also allows for the unknown and the mysterious. As an imaginative writer, Eva Figes looks life in the eyes. In this novel, as the title suggests, she does so at the moment of waking. That is the moment when one foresees, still within the blessed parenthesis of bed, the day to come, and when one assesses the coming day according to the experience of previous ones, and by the criteria of the hopes and fears that live in the heart as the residue of those days.

This is more than social criticism—it is a book about tenderness surviving its starvation.

It is a short book, divided into seven parts. The parts correspond to the seven stages of a woman, beginning with early childhood and ending with old age and death. Each part describes one morning's awakening. The narrative is not direct but a form of self-reflection. It is told in the first person singular. The style is deceptively simple and has the rhythm of an intimate conversation.

What is being said might be said by millions of women in Britain or Western Europe who were born 30 or more years ago, into a heterogeneous class. What is being said might be said by a shop assistant or an architect's wife. In both cases it is only what she might say to herself before getting out of bed, to meet the day that has been imposed upon her. Behind the ordinariness, on these pages, as in so many lives, lies an extraordinary enigma.

Who is the "I" that reflects before getting out of bed on these seven mornings? The syntax and vocabulary of the very young girl are exactly the same as those of the young woman or the old one. It is not the autobiographer, whom we all carry within ourselves and who continually tells to the self the story of one's life to date, or the projected

story of one's life to come. There is no consecutive narrative in this book. No dialogue. No causes and effects. The other characters are not even named. They are simply divided into "she" and "he."

Nor is the "I" the super-ego. What is recounted at no point borders on either aspiration or guilt. The narrative is without argument and yet it is not passive. The narrative is naked. It is very close to what is said by the eyes of life when they are looked into. And so the "I" speaks in the name of exactly whom?

If I knew the answer to that question as intimately as Eva Figes does, I would have been able to write this exceptional book. And perhaps to know it that well I would have to have been a woman. The "I" is the body. Not the body as sexual object. Not the body as simple sensual subject. But the body as that place where the living being's relation to the universe is most deeply sensed and felt.

Crossing the limits.

The relation between Eva Figes' text and what it speaks about is one of a particular precision. This precision is that of the senses and, through them, that of the here and now:

"I have learnt to live among small things. The shape of a vase standing on the window sill. The fresh smell of stiff white cloth when I gather in the day's wash from the line outside and fold it into my basket. Gossip on a bench in the park. Finishing off a knitted garment into which she will grow. Next month. The thread running through my fingers, the steady texture being shaped as I count stitches under my breath keeps me stable. She runs after a ball on the grass, stumbles and falls. For a brief moment she is undecided whether or not to cry. She picks herself up and continues. Yesterday her face would have continued to pucker, she would have stood rooted, shrieked until I came for her. The thread of wool continues to run through my fingers: the child grows, my body grows, the wool coat grows under my fingers. I count days, hours, stitches. There is nothing beyond, no thoughts, or dreams."

Yet, because of the existence of language and memory, each human sense is injected with a sense of time passing. (The differing forms of memory, as the body ages, is another of the book's themes.) Time passing not only retrospectively but also expectantly or fearfully:

"Soon the sun will rise, but already the day is alive, the trees at the bottom of the garden are singing, thousands of birds are singing from behind a thousand leaves, as though knowing the sun will rise, as though willing it



Eva Figes' novel describes waking moments at seven stages in a woman's life.

upward in a chorus. I did not know such a multitude of small voices could be at one and the same time, nor that so many birds lived concealed in the city."

The "I" of this book, while speaking of the self, speaks with equal feeling, equal bitterness, equal tenderness, of the light with which each day begins, of the sea, of the dew on the grass, of flowering branches and of the disappearing stars.

I may be giving the false impression that the tone of *Waking* is, above all, lyrical and affirmative. It is lyrical and it reflects upon a life of conflict and disappointment. It may be read as a work of almost unrelenting social criticism. But if it were only that, it would not have the power it has.

Because of the "I"'s puritan upbringing, because of the limitations this imposed upon some of her hopes, because of the feeble exaggeration it provoked in other hopes, because of economics, because she was trained to be passive, because of the pitiless rate of historical change, because she does not have very good health, because evil exists, because no century has so much resembled Limbo as our Western European one, the subject of this book lives a life in which she can scarcely read a few signs of love she encounters. The book is a love story in which no signs of love are read out. It is a book about tenderness surviving its own starvation.

As a small child, the woman loved her mother, and later she came to hate her, then grew

apart from her. Retrospectively she feels pity for her, and on her death bed, she sees her returning:

"But now I see a small light bobbing in the dark, it quivers, trembles, is it a spirit, no, the light of a fishing boat putting out to sea on the far horizon, no, perhaps a single star, the north star, rising in the sky, but no, it is coming nearer, she has come for me, she has not forgotten, she holds a torch in her hand, mamma, she has come back to the seashore and I am safe, now

that she has come to fetch me, pick me up and carry me home."

The return is eternal and larger than any origin.

Such a book makes olympian critical judgments seem tawdry, and yet I would like the last word ...a masterpiece.

John Berger is an art critic (*Ways of Seeing*), a novelist (*G.*), a scriptwriter (*Jonah Who Will be 25 in the Year 2000*) and essayist. His most recent book is *Pig Earth and his Another Way of Telling*, with Jean Mohr, is forthcoming by Pantheon.



My cigarette is the MILD cigarette... that's why Chesterfield is my favorite

Ronald Reagan

STARRING IN
"THE VOICE OF THE TURTLE"
A WARNER BROS. PRODUCTION

Warning: This man may be dangerous to your health.

Caption Contest winner is Mike Krupearz, now an *In These Times* T-shirt owner. Thanks to the many contestants, including those who sent variants on the above (sorry, no T-shirts for close calls), and to runners-up: "I like to let the smoke 'trickle down'" and "Tobacco is a vegetable, too!" (both in several versions).

POLITICS

Marxists and Indians



The poverty of Indian reservations (above, unemployed young men at Pine Ridge) is part of a history of expropriation of resources.

Roots of Oppression: The American Indian Question
By Steve Talbot
International Publishers,
193 pp., \$4.75

By Al Gedicks

The relevance of Marxism to an understanding of Native American struggles has been hotly contested in recent years. Russell Means, the co-founder of the American Indian Movement (AIM) brought political tension to a head during his address to the Black Hills International Survival Gathering in July of 1980. As far as its impact upon native peoples is concerned,

Means said, Marxism is indistinguishable from the rest of European intellectual traditions. "Marxists," said Means, "can be relied upon to develop uranium fuel as rapidly as possible simply because it's the most 'efficient' production available." The end result is that "Revolutionary Marxism is committed to even further perpetuation and perfection of the very industrial process which is destroying us all."

These are serious charges and cannot be brushed aside. Steve Talbot's *Roots of Oppression* provides a critical counterpoint to this blanket condemnation of Marxism. Talbot begins his

analysis with a critique of "blaming the victim" ideologies that speak of the "Indian problem" or "the plight of the American Indians" as if it was the destiny of "primitive" peoples to disappear with the establishment of a capitalist society. Despite a century of land robbery, expropriation of Indian resources and genocide, Native American struggles for self-determination are still being waged by diverse, but related indigenous nationalities such as Navajo, Lakota, Chipewya and Hopi.

One of Talbot's principal achievements is that he continually draws the parallels between Indian resistance struggles in the

past and those of the present. While the frontier history of dispossession and genocide shaped the specific form of racism against Native Americans it is the "expropriation of natural resources that has become the hallmark of the new dispossession." Talbot documents the agricultural, mineral and energy resources of Native Americans and shows how the neocolonial integration of Indian reservations into a capitalist political economy has insured the continuing impoverishment of native peoples. The mineral leases that were forced upon weak tribal governments by the Bureau of Indian Affairs since 1950, for instance, have resulted in the expropriation of \$2 to \$4 billion by large mining companies from Indian lands.

Talbot also notes that the uranium mining that has taken place on Indian reservations has amounted to another form of genocide. According to the United Mine Workers, 80 to 90 percent of uranium miners can expect to die of lung cancer as a result of exposure to the deadly radon gas released during the mining process.

The problem, as Talbot sees it, is that while Indians own their resources, they do not control them. As long as the federal government exercises a so-called "trust" responsibility for reservation lands, Indian lands will continue to be auctioned off to mining and energy corporations. It seems hardly coincidental that Gen. Alexander Haig commanded the assault upon Wounded Knee in 1973 and now speaks of a "resource war" with the Soviet Union that justifies the taking of Indian energy and mineral resources for national security.

Talbot suggests forming a coalition uniting energy-rich tribes, the energy-consuming public and mine workers. While most Nat-

ive Americans identify along ethnic rather than class lines, Native American workers have the same class enemy as other workers. Talbot suggests that it behooves white workers to take the initiative in forming this coalition.

Talbot's analysis falls short of addressing the potential conflicts between the energy-consuming public and energy-rich tribes. The implication is that if Indians owned and controlled their own means of production, this conflict would be minimal or nonexistent. But while Talbot's book is not the final word on the charges laid against Marxism by Russell Means, it is a valuable starting point for the beginning of a long overdue dialogue between Marxism and Native American political struggles.

Al Gedicks is the author of the three-part series "The New Resource Wars," published by Community Action on Latin America (CALA), 731 State St., Madison, WI 53703.



NOTEBOOK



Ben Franklin was a strike leader.

Benjamin Franklin and the Philadelphia Typographical Strikers of 1786

By Henry P. Rosemont
Union Printers' Historical Society Monographs, 1726
W. Jarvis, Chicago, IL 60626
40 pp., \$4

This handsome pamphlet, the first publication of a labor history group formed recently by members of the Chicago Typographical Union, reprints an important article by the late Henry P. Rosemont. The author, a printing trade unionist for over 50 years and the editor of *The Picket*, the strikers' organ during the Chicago newspaper strike of 1947-49, distilled the history of his union in countless columns in labor publications. His article on Franklin and the strike of 1786, published posthumously by *Labor His-*

tory last year and reproduced in the pamphlet with minor corrections, represents the fullest investigation of a conflict generally acknowledged as the first strike in American history. Rosemont also offers a solid reconstruction of the lives and work of printers of the Revolutionary generation and a probing, though necessarily speculative, appraisal of the role of the greatest of such printers, Ben Franklin, in the strike. Understated throughout, the article patiently corrects factual errors repeated by generations of historians and reminds us of the importance of the Revolution in the lives of early American artisans and of artisans in the life of the Revolution. DRR

The Deepening Crisis of U.S. Capitalism

By Harry Magdoff and Paul Sweezy
Monthly Review Press,
219 pp., \$6.50

These essays, collected from *Monthly Review* articles, span the Carter administration's muddled and eventually unsuccessful attempt to curb inflation without causing a recession and the arrival of supply-side economics as the new panacea. Their central point is that monopoly capitalism's tendency toward stagnation has come to fruition with the worldwide excess capacity crisis of the '70s

and '80s. Key industries like steel, autos and petrochemicals no longer have any incentive to expand. Therefore the usual remedies for recessions—the infusion of credit through banks and the private government—have proven increasingly incapable of stimulating the economy. Instead, these supposed remedies lead to towering public and private debt, which fuels inflation and speculation and which could come tumbling down and bring the world capitalist economy with it. Magdoff and Sweezy's essays are highly recommended to anyone trying to make sense of the U.S. economy today. JJ

The Mossadegh Era: Roots of the Iran Revolution

By Sepohr Zabih
Lake View Press, Box 25421,
Chicago, IL 60625
182 pp., \$6.95

This book explores the in-

trigues that brought down the Iranian regime of Mohammad Mossadegh and empowered Reza Shah Pahlavi, giving particular stress to the domestic forces involved. The author has written three previous books on modern Iran and brings firsthand knowledge of the Mossadegh regime to his writing. DG

Daughter of Earth

By Agnes Smedley, afterword by Paul Lauter
Feminist Press, \$4.50
Reprinting this 1929 working-class and feminist classic is one of the many services performed by the Feminist Press. Agnes Smedley's autobiographical novel chronicles the life of Marie Rogers from childhood, on a Missouri farm in the 1890s, through her family's migration to railroad and mining camps, to her own efforts to get an education, come to New York and become involved in

socialist activity. Smedley's straightforward prose disguises the complexity of this painfully honest exploration of maintaining a female and working-class identity. Marie wants to maintain her ties to her working-class family, but not to share their circumscribed existence; she seeks love and tenderness from men, but cannot accept it within marriage. RK

Solidarity: Poland in the Season of Its Passion

By Lawrence Weschler,
introduction by William W. Winpisinger
Simon and Schuster, 221 pp., \$8.95

This is as much a model of good journalism as it is an excellent guide to recent Polish history. Weschler made two trips to Poland, in May and in autumn of 1981. He vividly sketches scenes and issues of Polish life—bureaucratic corruption, economic crisis, the street arguments and the movies and the explanations. The shocking decline in possibilities that he saw in his second visit sheds light on the declaration of war. His epilogue was excerpted in *In These Times*, Feb. 24; the first two sections first appeared in the *New Yorker*. The book includes two sections of photographs and an extensive chronology of Polish history—without which the events of 1980 and 1981 are incomprehensible. PA

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide, Dan Georgakas, John Judis, Rachel Kranz, David Roediger.



Drawing by David Levine, reprinted with permission of NY Review of Books, NY Rev

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

MUSIC

Monk—a fortunate madman of jazz

He stripped bop down to its basics, and he made the sound seem as natural as breathing.

By Paul Chevigny

Thelonious Monk, who died on Feb. 17 at 64, was my college education. Until the middle '50s, the fleet, fabulous language of Charlie Parker, Dizzy Gillespie and Kenny Clarke entirely escaped me. The received view where I came from was that their music was too nervous, too discordant; it would be blotted out like many another error.

By 1957, it was apparent even to these tin ears that modern jazz was not going to go the way of, say, ragtime (and, in the long run, ragtime has fooled us as well). When Thelonious Monk came with his piano and his quartet to the Five Spot, a grimy joint then at Fourth Street and the Bowery in New York, I sat down to understand what was going on, or stay drunk until the aberration passed from us.

I chose to sit just there because Monk was supposed to be some sort of magical genius who could make all things clear to me. He certainly acted enough like a shaman, humming and groaning along with the music. When John Coltrane, the first saxophonist I heard with the quartet, was cooking, Monk would stand up on the infinitesimal Five Spot bandstand and bump around, his arms hanging down like a dancing bear. (A live recording of a successor quartet, with John Griffin instead of Coltrane, was released as *Thelonious in Action* by Riverside.) And after he had played at the Five Spot for a few months, the magician was famous. Everyone, having ignored Monk for the previous 15 years, suddenly thought his music was as natural as breathing.

It was. The music that Parker and Gillespie covered with the rococo ornamentation of their formidable technique, in Monk's hands was stripped to its essentials. He made the dissonant materials of bop music—the eighth interval, and the fifth with its flat in it, together with the characteristic stuttering rhythm—into a logical part of the language of his music. In Monk's playing the gorgeous body of bop was subjected to an X-ray wherein the bones, the frame of the music was shadowed forth.

Some artists are revolutionary because they make up their minds to push on beyond the

boundaries given to them; and a few are unable to do otherwise than express themselves in a special way. They cannot play successfully in the old ways, and can use only the new techniques that, for some quirky reason, are accessible to them. They are treated as madmen unless they happen by luck to run up against a group that has adopted the changes that fit their idiosyncracies. Monk was one of the fortunate madmen.

Basics at the front.

Monk's piano style was closely allied to a much older one, Harlem stride piano, itself a highly elaborated, "fingerbustin'" way of playing. If you took the ornamentation out of stride piano, and used the odd harmonies that were to become those of bop, the result was Monk's piano. Another pianist from the same school, although much older, Duke Ellington, also played a spare, stripped-down version of the style. As Ellington got older, his piano work came to sound more like that of Monk (try, for example, Duke Ellington/Johnny Hodges, *Blues Summit*, Verve). Monk returned the favor by making a record of Ellington compositions (*Thelonious Monk plays Duke Ellington*, Riverside).

Monk's long roots in the music that went before him meant that he played a funky melody with a seamless logic that nevertheless fitted into world of bop. Monk thus taught me bop the way you might teach harmony to a school child, putting the simple basics at the front for even the dimmest to grasp. After a grounding in his music, the work of Charlie Parker, which had sounded like organized chaos to me, instead became so much Socratic dialogue. Serene and reasonable, that was the bop that Monk peddled—or so it seemed to me for a time. In fact, Monk's music was no more serene than any other. I got the effect only because I could at last understand the music. Anything that makes it possible to link a revolutionary style with a tradition will take some of the bite out of the revo-



lutionary style, and at the same time bring the tradition back to life. In the end, that's what Monk's music did.

Though Monk's music sounded like sweet reason in the midst

and the source of most of the bop tunes, especially "Sweet and Lovely," which he transformed every evening I ever heard him. Mostly he played his own songs, witty things with queer names like "Little Rootie Tootie," a tune that runs up two flights of stairs and stamps its feet noisily; "Well, You Needn't," which begins as though you spoke the words of the title; and "Misterioso," which marches eighth intervals up and down the scale. In fact, the titles were difficult to recall, though any of them was instantly recognizable as a "Monk tune," as if all of them were part of a grand and funny composition that the pianist had in his head.

If he was ever going to be successful, it was apparent that the music world was going to have to go Monk, rather than the other way around. Fortunately, musicians did go to him. For years, the saxophonist Steve Lacy did little else except interpret Monk's music. His tunes had the nervous bop rhythms built right into the texture of the piece, so that they seemed no longer part of the accompaniment, but of the essence of the music. Musicians, and especially drummers, wanted to work with Monk to get a feeling for what a perfectly integrated piece of music—melody, variation and rhythm—would sound like.

The wit that Monk put into his own pieces he put into the construction of all his music. Shortly after I started to listen to him, he made a record, *Monk's Music* (Riverside). The record begins with the hymn "Abide with Me, Fast Falls the Eventide" played absolutely straight (no chaser, as Monk would say), followed by the angular melody of "Well, You Needn't." The hymn makes Monk's little piece into a beautiful larger composition, and that classic record ought to be re-issued now as a fitting memorial to his work.

Paul Chevigny is the author of *Police Power*, *Cops and Rebels*, *Criminal Mischief*; a novel and reviewed jazz for *University Review*.

CULTURE SHOCK

EASY COME, EASY GO

According to a London magazine, *Weekend*, some oil-rich Saudi Arabians know how to avoid car repair—they abandon their cars when they break down, or even, in some cases, run out of gas. (Zodiac)



"Battle of the Booklets..."

"...represents a quantum leap in Moscow's mastery of military propaganda." *Time*

"...the most sophisticated effort yet to sway public opinion in the United States and Western Europe that the Reagan Administration's arms buildup is a threat to peace." *New York Times*

WHENCE THE THREAT TO PEACE

The Soviet Defense Ministry's reply to the Pentagon's *Soviet Military Power*. Complete text, with full-color photographs, charts, and maps. January 1982. Military Publishing House, Moscow. Paperback, 78 pp. ISBN 0-6285-9176-8. \$4.50.

Ask for our free catalog!

Distributed by IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, Inc.

320 W. Ohio Street, Dept. N, Chicago, IL 60610-312/787-9017, 787-9019

IMPORTED PUBLICATIONS, Inc.

320 W. Ohio St., Dept. N, Chicago, IL 60610-312/787-9017

Please send me a copy of *Whence the Threat to Peace* at \$4.50 plus .85¢ for postage and shipping. (Illinois residents add 7% sales tax.) My check or money order is enclosed.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

Telephone orders accepted with VISA or Master Card.

Missing

Continued from page 13

the premise of U.S. complicity in Horman's execution. Ten years ago had someone written a novel or made a film about a young North American who lost his life because he knew too much about U.S. involvement in the bloody overthrow of a democratic government it would have been dismissed as puerile nonsense. Not today. Today the Pentagon Papers, the ITT documents, the transcripts of Nixon's White House tapes and three reports by committees of the U.S. Senate ("Covert Action in Chile 1963-1973," "The International Telephone and Telegraph Company and Chile" and "Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders") document a history of treachery and lies by high government officials.

Missing fosters a sense of anger at the outrages that have been committed by a government that is supposed to represent us—an anger that should not be allowed to dissipate. The list of "desaparecidos" (people who are arrested and then never seen again) in

Central and South America will continue to grow as it is growing now in Chile, Argentina and El Salvador. A Louis Harris survey published on November 29, 1974, showed that 60 percent of the American public believed it was wrong to intervene in and try to destabilize the Allende government. A Feb. 20 Gallup Poll reported that 54 percent of the respondents in a poll it conducted for *Newsweek* said the U.S. should stay completely out of El Salvador.

Today visitors to Chile won't see bodies floating down the Mapocho River that runs through the center of Santiago as in the days following the coup. But as Amnesty International has pointed out people continue to "disappear" and torture is systematic. The climate of fear that is thereby created coupled with the repression of trade union rights helps to keep wage demands down. Cheap labor, one suspects, is a major reason that Exxon, Holiday Inn, Sears, Bank of America and other multinational corporations

have flocked to Chile. The junta has also given foreign corporations preferential tax treatment and placed no restrictions on the profits they may remit abroad.

Such policies, together with a reduction in tariffs and increasing reliance on the market, have been widely heralded as a test of the kind of supply side economics that President Reagan is applying in the U.S. But as the *Wall Street Journal*, which once suggested we hire the Chilean junta's economists to help us out of our economic difficulties, reported on January 18, Chile is currently in the worst economic trouble it has been in since the junta took power. As two economists put it in the Chilean magazine *Mensaje*, "a considerable number of Chileans are practically excluded from the market because they don't have the means to acquire even basic necessities."

Paul Cantor teaches and studies economics at the University of California at Davis.

Chile

Continued from page 13

the Hormans' viewpoint by Nathaniel Davis, American Ambassador in Santiago at the time of the coup and by William Colby, former CIA director. Further, she quoted author Seymour Hersh, who is writing a history of Kissinger and researching American foreign policy around the Chilean coup, as saying that he found "no evidence of involvement by the U.S. in Horman's fate or in the actual Pinochet coup."

It will surprise no one but perhaps Flora Lewis that Davis and Colby denied American involvement. More surprising is Hersh's claim, until you check out his later statements. "I cannot prove direct

complicity. But I told Flora that the book I'm writing has an awful lot about Chile," he told Alexander Cockburn in *The Village Voice*, hinting he didn't want to reveal new material prematurely. "I thought I made it clear there's more to the story." Hersh has formally complained to the *Times* about being quoted out of context.

At a press party for the film in Washington, D.C., many invited officials simply refused to show up. One who did, Sen. Frank Church, who headed the Intelligence Committee that investigated covert action in Chile said, "Our hearings dealt with a different time period, but from what we learned then, the film seemed very plausible."

Perhaps as shocking as anything in the film is the realization that such a presentation (which only, after all, makes a circumstantial case) can be contested—and not only contested but controversial.

SOCIALTEXT

THEORY/CULTURE/IDEOLOGY

AVAILABLE NOW

AFRO-AMERICAN POLITICS AND CULTURE
THE THIRD RECONSTRUCTION: BLACK POLITICS
IN A REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

Manning Marable

CONCEPTS OF CULTURE IN AFRO-AMERICAN
POLITICAL THOUGHT, 1890-1920

John Brown Childs

POEMS

Robert Gluck

LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE AND POLITICS
THE UTOPIA OF A TIRED MAN: JORGE LUIS BORGES

Jean Franco

Portrait of Teresa & SEXUAL POLITICS IN CUBA
Julianne Burton

Fredric Jameson on *The Shining* // Richard D. Wolff on
Laboratory Life // Alexander Wilson on *Cruising & Gay Politics*

AVAILABLE IN APRIL

VOICES FROM POLAND

CRACKS IN THE BLOC
AMERICAN LABOR'S HISTORIC COMPROMISE
AND THE PRESENT CRISIS

Stanley Aronowitz

EL SALVADOR: Essay

John Beverley

POEMS

Roque Dalton

CRITICAL THEORY OF EDUCATION: Essays
Henry Giroux and Michael Apple

SOCIAL TEXT, BOX 352, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK 11217

Send \$4.50 for single copy (specify issue)
SUBSCRIPTIONS (3 issues): regular \$12.00; students \$11.00
institutions: \$24.00

Costa

Continued from page 12

tual as we are in Europe. They followed a cause more emotionally.

Why did Universal back this film?

Universal likes to make movies with me. This is the extraordinary part about the United States, when you can find Universal, a quite traditional company, financing that kind of movie.

What is your political perspective?

I have two points of view on political life. One is philosophical, about how society should, could and must be. The other is: we have a political party and candidates and you make a choice, either because of the man or the programs, and you vote. I may vote for Mitterand, but it doesn't mean I have to follow every one of his positions.

Why do you make personal films about political issues?

Making movies is a very subjective thing. I strongly believe that the more you stick to your personal point of view the more you can reach people, because you speak as a human being, you tell them what you think.

—Leonard Quart and Al Auster

Leonard Quart and Al Auster are New York writers whose work has appeared in *Cineaste* and *In These Times*, among other places.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Paul Ginger.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

March 19

The New York Institute for Social Therapy and Research's 6th annual lecture on Marxism and Mental Illness "The Psychology of Racism and the Racism of Psychology." Speakers are Lenora Fulani, Ralph Mendez and Fred Newman. Introductory remarks by Gilberto Gerena Valantin, city council member from South Bronx. Friday, 8 p.m. at Teachers College, Columbia University, 120th and Broadway. Admission \$4.00. Call (212) 622-5056.

BOSTON, MA

March & April

Boston DSOC Spring Courses: "Eurosocialism: A Turning of the Tide?" with various speakers, Tuesdays, March 9-April 6. "American Radicalism in the Twentieth Century" with Maurice Isserman, author and historian, Tuesdays, March 16-April 13. "Socialist Thought—Labor Action" with Mike Schippani, ACTWU, Wednesdays, March 17-April 14. Contact: DSOC 120 Tremont St., Boston, (617) 426-9026.

March 11

Steve Nelson will speak on "Six Decades of American Radicalism: A Personal Look Back and Ahead." Nelson was a leader of the Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War; trade union and Unemployed Council organizer during the 1930s. At 8 p.m., Workmen's Circle, 1762 Beacon St., Brookline. Information: DSOC, (617) 426-9026.

DETROIT, MI

March 20 & 21

DSOC and NAM Merger Convention. Harry Boyte, Harry Britt, Cong. George Crockett, Maryann Mahaffey, Martin Gerber, Holly Graff, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, Millie Jeffries, Deborah Meier, Carole King, Bill Lucy, Roberta Lynch, Margery Phyfe, and many, many more left luminaries, plus workshops, party, dance and more. For info and advance registration, \$25: NAM, 3244 N. Clark St., Chicago, IL 60657. (312) 871-7700.

CHICAGO, IL

March 26-28

"Careers in Organizing"—a conference exploring alternative careers in social change and community activism. Will take place at Kent College of Law—77 S. Wacker. Sponsored by the National Training and Information Center, Northwestern University, and Catholic Charities. For information/registration, call (312) 243-3035.

March 27

"The Nuclear Threat: Radiation and War," a talk by Dr. Carl Johnson, formerly of Jefferson (Rocky Flats) County, Colorado and leaders of Italian and German Disarmament movements. Saturday at 1 p.m. DePaul Center Theatre, 25 E. Jackson. \$3.00. For information, call (312) 427-2533. Sponsored by AFSC, CANP and PSR.

LENINGRAD/BAKU/MOSCOW

April 4-18

A Labor Research Association-sponsored tour of the Soviet Union will examine Soviet education in the 1980's. Three SUNY graduate or undergraduate credits are optional. The tour leaves from JFK on an Air France jet. The all-inclusive \$1350 cost is tax deductible. For details, contact Miles Wolpin, Political Science Department, SUNY, Postdam, NY 13676. (315) 265-9421 or (212) 473-1042.

DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee for its listing.

Association for Workplace Democracy
1747 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20009

The Citizens Party of Illinois
109 N. Dearborn, Suite 603
Chicago, IL 60602
(312) 332-2066

The Citizens Party- National Office
1605 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20009

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
120 Maryland Ave., N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

C.O.I.N.-Consumers Opposed to Inflation in the Necessities

2000 P Street, N.W.
Suite 413
Washington, DC 20036

DSOC-Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee
853 Broadway, Room 801
New York, NY 10003

Midwest Academy
600 West Fullerton Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614

National Center for Economic Alternatives
2000 P Street, N.W.
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

NAM-New American Movement
3244 N. Clark St.
Chicago, IL 60657

New Patriot Alliance/D.S.O.L.
343 S. Dearborn, Room 305
Chicago, IL 60604

Socialist Party
1011 N. 3rd St., No. 201
Milwaukee, WI 53203

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

AFRICA NEWS: Inexpensive — quick to read — news and analysis you can't find elsewhere — a solid reputation based on nine years as the only U.S. weekly on Africa. Subscribe now and receive free a 40-page booklet: "The United States and Africa: 1981—Reagan's First Year." Just send \$18 for 48 issues to Africa News, P.O. Box 3851T, Durham, NC 27702. Or send \$2 for the booklet and inquire about a free sample issue of our publication.

GRASSY KNOWLEDGE:—eight-page bi-monthly newsletter dedicated to ending the coverup of the murders of JFK, MLK, RFK, MLK et al. \$10/yr. Carter Designs, Box 1485, Manchester, MA 01844.

RADICAL PASSOVER MAGAZINE:—Secular, non-sectarian approach to traditional Seder. Contemporary language emphasizes ideals of liberation, social activism through Jewish history. Beautifully illustrated. \$2.70 P.O. Box 340, E. Setauket, NY 11733.

ASIA: Bangladesh and North Korea in Vol. 13 #4 (\$4.95). Rural classes, undeveloped Brahmaputra river, development and Bangladeshi villages; Kimsungjari, China special still available (\$6.95). 1982 subscriptions: \$20. Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, Box 3, Barthoud, CO 80513.

REJECTS:—"Suppressed" writings on children, religion, academics, psychiatry, leftist publications, pedophilia liberation, etc. 80¢ (stamp/coln): David Sonenschein, P.O. Box 4765, Austin, TX 78765.

HELP WANTED

ORGANIZERS:—Educational advocacy group seeks individuals to work with students at university level. Excellent writing and speaking skills; travel 40 hours-plus work-week. Send resume and three references to: Ed Rothstein, SASU, 41 State St., Suite 505, Albany, NY 12207.

TWO ORGANIZERS:—Northern and Southern California Students for Economic Democracy. One year positions begin Aug. 1. Responsibilities: build statewide organizations; assist chapter development; coordinate organizer training; develop issues, strategies and resources. Experience in campus organizing, administration and fund-raising; familiarity with Economic Democracy. Resumes and references by March 15 to: SED, 1525-K Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94709.

ORGANIZER:—NY State Citizens Party. Duties: coordinate issues and electoral campaigns, chapter development, fundraising, media relations and other tasks as assigned by the membership. Position involves considerable traveling. Salary: \$7,300-\$8,000. Send resumes to: Bob Cohen, NYS Citizens Party, 629 State St., Albany, NY 12203.

DIRECTOR:—Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. 49 groups and grassroots network promote human rights, disarmament. Job begins May. Involves program development, liaison, fundraising. By April 15 send letter, resume, 3 references to: 120 Mary-

land Ave., NE, Washington, DC 20002. (202)546-8400. Salary negotiable.

DIRECTOR: HIGHLAND CENTER. Director will provide leadership in educational programs for empowerment of low-income and working adults. Strong ability in fund-raising and administration, and commitment to democratic work principles required. Women and minority candidates encouraged. Salary: \$9120-17,100. To apply: Director Search Committee, Highlander Center, Route 3, Box 370, New Market, TN 37820.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE Committee, religious, pacifist, social change organization seeks fundraiser in Chicago. Requires good communication, administrative skills; commitment to nonviolent social change. Director of Peace Education Division in Philadelphia. Requires commitment to pacifism; knowledge of national, international policy issues; administrative, program, leadership experience. Send resume: Karen Cromley, AFSC, 1501 Cherry, Phila. PA 19102 by April 5. Affirmative Action Employer.

ENVIRONMENTAL ATTORNEY, Charleston, W.Va.. The Appalachian Research and Defense Fund, Inc., is a law firm that provides legal services to low income people of West Virginia. The firm has a number of specialty areas, one of which is environmental law. Duties: Environmental litigation, rulemaking and administrative procedures under the state-federal law; work involves varied caseload of law reform issues, including environmental impacts of coal mining, chemical plant air and water pollution, impacts of oil and gas drilling operations, air pollution from power plants and manufacturing plants, and herbicide abuses; provide litigation support in training to legal services attorneys in state. Requirements: Experience in field of environmental law required—experience in coal mining related matters preferable; candidates with substantial federal court experience preferred; admission to bar of any state required. Salary: \$18,500 to \$20,000/year, commensurate with experience. To apply: Send resume or contact Tobias Hirshman, Appalachian Research and Defense Fund, Inc., 1116-B Kanawa Blvd., East, Charleston, WV 25301. Tel. (304) 344-9687.

CAMP KINDERLAND, a progressive secular Jewish camp seeks Waterfront, Sports, Music, Drama, Dance and some general counselors. Contact Elsie Suller, Camp Kinderland, 1 Union Square West, NY, NY 10003 or Mitchell Silver, Program Director at (617)628-3365.

ORGANIZER. New Jewish Agenda, a grassroots progressive organization, that works on such issues as disarmament, racism and anti-Semitism and peace in the Middle East, seeks a full-time person to assist in all projects of the national office. Write 1123 Broadway, Room 1217, New York, NY 10010.

REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS Organizer, Northern California; 6-8 months; extensive travel; experience required; \$1,100/month. CDRR 1638B

Haight St., S.F., CA 94117. Deadline March 22.

WIN MAGAZINE seeks a typesetter /Reviews Editor. Starts April 1st. Type 55 w.p.m. and good command of English language. Commitment to nonviolence, feminism, collective work process essential. Salary: \$150/wk. plus health insurance. Send resume to: WIN, 326 Livingston St., Brooklyn, NY 11217.

BUTTONS, POSTERS, ETC.

SELF-STICKING, SMALL LABELS to post everywhere: "The Moral Majority Is Neither"; "This Promotes Women Hating"; "This Insults Women"; "Stop Racist Attacks" (tri-color); "U.S. Out of El Salvador"; "Stop the Arms Race Not the Human Race"; "Don't Buy British Products" (with list & phone number). \$1/20 (OK to mix); \$20/roll of 1,000 (same). Donnelly/Colt, Box 271-IT, New Vernon, NJ 07976.

BUTTONS / BUMPERSTICKERS — Custom-printed (union shop). Lowest movement prices for 20 years! Largest variety anti-nuclear and other fund-raising items in stock. Free catalog...call (516)791-7929. Larry Fox, Box M-8, Valley Stream, NY 11582.

"ANOTHER VICTIM OF REAGAN'S Budget Cuts" - silk-screened white/red on blue t-shirt. \$7.95 postpaid: 32nd St. Studio, 1711 W. 32nd St., Cleveland, OH 44113.

FILM RENTALS

"FOR EXPORT ONLY"—Pesticides & Pills Films document Multi-National selling in Third World of prohibited/restricted products known to cause cancer, birth deformities, death. Names named. "Global horror story with ugly implications. Watch this one"—Indianapolis News. "Powerful"—Detroit News. "Extraordinary"—London Observer. "Startling"—Chr. Science Monitor. To order 16mm/3/4" video: Richter Productions, 330 W. 42nd St., New York, NY 10036.

WANTED

IDEAS, inventions wanted! Call 1-800-528-6050, in Arizona, 1-800-352-0458, ext. 831.

PERSONALS

RADICAL POPULIST correspond-

Guild Books & Periodicals

1118 W. Armitage
Chicago, Ill. 60614
(312)525-3667

Literature • History • Politics
Art • Women & Minority Studies
Wide Selection—Periodicals
& Records • Books in Spanish
Come in and browse.

ence circle forming: Lefty, P.O. Box 1386, Vernon, TX 76384.

JOHN K. towards unity!...xoxox, Comrad C.

BOOKS

NEW AGE SOCIALISM—Fresh social vision integrating personal and political liberation. Available from Michael Wyatt, 405 N. Frances, Madison, WI 53703. \$4 postpaid.

RESOURCES

NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL HOTLINE—Call (202)543-0006 to get the latest information on arms control

"You and Your Role in History"

First of five lectures on "Contemporary Society" given by Alex Gendler, editor of "BottomLine"

Place: Crosscurrents,

3206 N. Wilton

Time: March 14, 7 pm (Sunday)

The School for Democratic Socialism

March-May Schedule

Courses for March through May include **Internationalism** (with Stephen Bronner), **Working Women and Social Policy** (with Alice Kessler Harris), **The Politics of Language** (with Ricardo Otheguy and Deborah Meier) and **Introduction to Democratic Socialism** courses in both Manhattan and Park Slope/Brooklyn.

Socialism and the Welfare State (with Luther Carpenter of Dissent) starts March 11, 7:30 pm at the DSOC National Office, 853 Broadway.

All courses run four sessions and cost \$12 (\$10 for the intro to Democratic Socialism).

Call today for more information (212)260-3270 and ask for a School brochure or write the School at 170 Broadway, Suite 201, New York, NY 10038.

A project of the New York local of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

TAPES

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA. Audio-cassettes of th's major conference, held in St. Paul. Sessions explore American democratic tradition and current relevance through citizen organizing, and the populist vision. Free brochure lists topics and presenters. Write: Replay Services, Dept. T, Box 4292, Madison, WI 53711.

EDUCATION

CRITICAL STUDIES AT A STATE University? An opportunity to build a self-designed degree program at the B.A. or M.A. level. Courses, field work and other learning resources are available in a variety of areas including: Marxism; Radical Social and Political Theory; Socialist-Feminism; Labor and Left History; Community Organizing; Experimental Education; Radical Therapy; and International Studies. For more information contact Prof. Ralph Stone, Sangamon State University, Springfield, IL 62708, or call (217)786-6778 (toll-free in Illinois: 800-252-8533).

COMPUTERS

COMPUTER WORD PROCESSING. Mass personal form letters. 591 W. 19th Ave., Eugene, OR 97401, (503) 342-7548.

REAL ESTATE

IF YOU ARE planning to buy or sell real estate in the Ann Arbor area, please contact Rose Hochman, c/o Garnet Johnson Associates, 325 E. Summit, Ann Arbor, MI 48104. (313) 662-3282 or (313) 763-3099.

gray with blue logo

sweatshirt \$12.50
t-shirt \$7.00
posters \$3.00

organize!

sm., med., lg.,
x-lg.
C.S.P. Box 48
Poplar Ridge,
NY 13139

bulk rates available

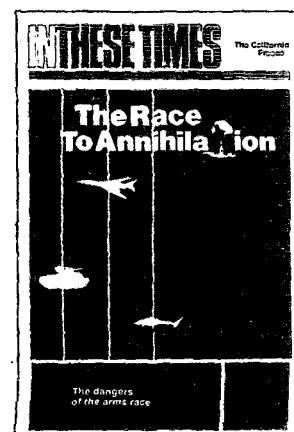
CONCERT TYPOGRAPHERS

"Virtuoso performance on the Compugraphic"

Concert Typographers, an outgrowth of the production department of In These Times, offers quality typesetting, with a quick turnaround time, at low prices. Whatever your needs are—from business cards to book manuscripts—we'll guarantee our work to your satisfaction. All proceeds will go to the continued growth and development of In These Times.

For estimates, references and scheduling, contact: Bill Rehm or Jim Rinnert, Concert Typographers, 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622. (312)489-4444.

Peace Or Annihilation?



In These Times has just printed the four-page pamphlet **The Race to Annihilation.** Articles reprinted from ITT detail current Reagan administration defense strategies, the peace movement in Europe and happenings on the anti-nuclear front. Great for organizing and educational programs and available at special organizational prices! \$5/50; \$10/100.

Send your order to: **In These Times,** Dept. A., 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.



In These Times Classified Ads Grab Attention

...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 67,000 responsive readers each week. (72% made a mail order purchase last year.) ITT classifieds deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:

60¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
55¢ per word / 3-5 issues
50¢ per word / 6-9 issues
45¢ per word / 10-19 issues
40¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$16 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$15 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$14 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$12 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$10 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Telephone and POB numbers count as two words; abbreviations and zip codes as one. Advertising deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues are dated on Wednesday.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Advertising, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622. (312)489-4444



"Sorry, I'm a vegetarian"

Working on the assembly line is like an eight-hour joke with many punchlines but no end.

Recently the United Auto Workers' bi-weekly magazine *Solidarity* published a special issue, "Working Class Writing: A collection of poetry and prose by UAW members and families." The anthology commands interest as much for the intensity of expression as for the quality and the variety of writing. Excerpted below is one of the essays, by a worker in the Chevy Truck Assembly plant in Flint, Mich., and a published poet.

By Gene Westervelt

THE TERROR THAT HAUNTS anyone who writes is finding that they are no longer saying anything. Ghosts of this feeling chase me on off days and during those times that I am too busy to work at my writing. It is easy to doubt what I have written. At first glance, little

work looks good, and that which does is usually bad. The comfort of hindsight is reassuring, but gives rise to the thought, "I couldn't write that now."

Some moments, beliefs, or feelings seem too intense to adequately write about. I have worked in a factory for nine years but it's hard for me to write at work, about work, or even after work. Though the boredom is terrible and time between jobs hangs like a collar around a horse's neck, I can't seem to pull it in the direction of anything important. Many days are spent just listening to the conversations that go up and down the line. It's like an eight-hour dirty joke with many punchlines but no end. People are so bored, anything can be said and it's funny, or at least a focus for interest. It does strange things. Intelligent people act like idiots. Idiots take on the aura of genius. Ideas, words, and phrases that I want no room for in my mind will still fill it.

There are ways of beating the mental atmosphere of the plant. I work with a couple of friends. By friends, I mean the people I bother to see outside of work. We form a little wave of madness crashing against the whole ocean of insanity. Things are funny to us, even become our favorite jokes, yet are impossible to explain. It is probably just as mindless as the run-of-the-mill madness that we work with, but at least it's our own.

Several years ago, one of these in-group jokes got its start. Some man was selling candy bars for his church. He was one of that endless procession of beggars that inhabits any workplace, some serious, some spurious, but all bother-

some after a while. "You wanna buy a candy bar for 50 cents? It's for our missionary fund." Then he waited.

I had never seen the man before, but didn't really have half a dollar to throw away, and recently had gotten into organic foods. There is very little meat I can find to eat that hasn't been pumped full of hormones, antibiotics, sedatives, and other wonders of the slaughterhouse and feed-lot arsenals. So, for all practical purposes, I'm a vegetarian.

"I'm a vegetarian, sorry."

"Oh, okay."

It struck me a moment later that being a vegetarian, a non-meat eater, had nothing to do with a chocolate bar. In my avoidance of preaching at people about what they eat, I had too simply categorized my position. He had accepted: never questioning, whether by politeness, ignorance or disinterest, what I had said. It seemed hilariously funny at the moment. I shared it with my two friends. We all laughed. The disjointed phrase for the day was, "Nope, I'm a vegetarian." We laughed like idiots every time we said it, as often as anything was said that needed a non-answer. Little did we realize that it was the beginning of a tradition.

Every time anyone came soliciting for anything, the other two would wait where they could hear. The come-on would be presented: from Girl Scout cookies to pens for the Big Brothers, loans of a quarter, or some old guy retiring. I always looked up, smiled as if embarrassed, and said, "I'm sorry, I can't. I'm a vegetarian." Strong demands have melted before that answer, and flowed away to the next job to be reset and re-presented. A few times someone, a hard-core church supporter or someone's brother, asks the significance of vegetarianism to donating a dollar to someone's retirement present. A standard speech has developed, citing the 10 percent of the world's population who are starving, the horrible amount of chemicals added to our food supply, and this country's constitutionally guaranteed right to freedom of religion. So much nothing, and it works every time.

The solicitor leaves, and my friends, who have been stuffing their oil-soaked gloves in their mouths to keep from laughing, burst out into unbelievable hysterics. We knock the joke around for an hour or so, bouncing it back and forth like a trapped echo, laughing at our joke and somebody's simplicity until we can't say it straight any longer. It passes the time.

Recently, the joke turned on me. We saw a friend coming down the line one morning taking up a collection. Alex, a man still locked in the 1950s, had gotten upset about his recent divorce while at a bar. He decided to go talk "some sense" into his wife, even if it was one in the morning. His drinking buddies helped him into his car and he helped himself into a concrete abutment. Sixty miles an hour had made a door through it to somewhere. I'd heard the gossip all morning. The man walked up to me, my friends waiting behind him, grinning.

"Alex is dead. Want to give something for some flowers or something?"

I hesitated. My friends watched. The time-passer for the next two hours was on the tip of my tongue. How could I throw this one away? I couldn't look him in the face. I mumbled, "No, well... uh, Chet, I'm a vegetarian, ya see... and, uh..."

He was already walking away.

It was the wrong thing to say. I did not laugh, nor did my friends. The habit had lasted too long, till the joke just didn't fit right.

I wonder sometimes if I am a writer in the same way. Something begins as a response to boredom, grows stronger when it gains others' attention and becomes a device for handling a variety of situations. I am a poet. Sometimes it is work, other times it's a game for me, but I am often writing. On dried-out days, it becomes easy to wonder if I have continued to write long after the meaning has left, and it has become some kind of out-of-place, left-over joke. It's hard to tell, so I watch my friends, to see if they're still laughing.

For a sample copy of the issue write *Solidarity*, 8000 E. Jefferson, Detroit, MI 48214.

Andrew Popper